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THE HOW, WHY AND WHERE OF THE-

"HYDERABAD STRUGGLE"

BY

ABDUS SALAM

1941

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[*RUPEE*

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INTRODUCTION

In recent years, Hyderabad has received greater attention of the British Indian press than any other State. There have been thousands of newspaper reports, statements, interviews and articles published which, if credited, would lead one to the irresistible conclusion that there is something radically wrong with the State and its Government.

The alleged grievances and wrongs attributed to the State government have all emanated from particular sections of the Hindu community—the Arya Samajists and the Hindu Sabhaites. The Hindu communal press has given them the widest publicity.

Every case has two sides. So far only one side of the Hyderabad case has been presented to the Indian public. Why the other side has not been presented is a wonder to many who consider that the silence of the Government is a mute admission of its guilt.

Is it possible that the attitude of the Government or the Nizam has been inspired by a desire not to encourage a bitter controversy and that it considers its duty done by issuing an occasional communique? But these communiqués do not often get the same publicity as the adverse criticism of the agitators, and consequently, the injustice becomes doubly more so.

There has been considerable literature on Hyderabad and its Government which is not at all conducive to the growth of communal unity, and a recent publication from Poona, "The Bhaganagar Struggle," has made the publication of certain indisputable facts necessary.

Another reason for the publication of this book has been the unsympathetic attitude of a large section

of the Indian press to anything that savoured of the State's defence. It has been my sad experience with many of my friends that whenever we have tried to correct misstatements in the press from our personal and intimate knowledge of the State, the letters have evidently gone into the wide accommodating w.p.b. in the editorial sanctum. Anyway, there is no remedy for deep-rooted prejudices. I am, therefore, making bold to publish through this book a reply not only to the "Bhaganagar Struggle," but to various other publications and misleading articles as well.

Those who think that theirs is the divine birth-right of criticising others, as they please, may not welcome this book. It is not intended to satisfy those who are determined to be dissatisfied. It is intended for the great mass of Indian people—Hindus, Muslims and others—who could learn from it how political agitations are fed and fostered, and would, therefore, be prepared to meet the very next agitation with the right spirit and a fitting reception.

—THE AUTHOR.

Bombay, November 1941.

CHAPTER I.

MODERN HYDERABAD

HYDERABAD, against which a certain militant section of the Hindu public of British India sought to agitate, not very long ago, and which is still in the public eye owing to various kinds of propagandist stunts, has the privilege of being the premier State of India.

With a territory which exceeds the combined area of Spain and Portugal, of Norway and Sweden, or of England and Scotland, it has a bigger population than many a leading European country.

In fact, in point of area, population and economic and other conditions, the State compares favourably with many of the leading provinces of British India and has an administration which has been organised, since the time of the late Nizam, on the British Indian model with a standard of efficiency which has been the pride of the Nizam's subjects and the envy of many others.

For over six hundred years, Muslims have ruled over Hyderabad, and though the Hindu Sabhaites are telling the world that the policy of the Muslim rulers of the State has always been aimed at making it Muslim by adopting a despotic and unjust attitude towards the Hindus, the facts as they are found today and in the history of the past are startling in their revelations.

HINDUS UNDER MUSLIM RULE

To begin with, the population of Hyderabad is predominantly Hindu, the ratio of Hindu to Muslim population being approximately 86 : 14. Is it possible that in spite of six hundred years of Muslim 'tyranny,' the Hindus of the State can still claim such a thumping majority leaving the ruling and so-called privileged class in a miserable minority?

It may not be unknown to the critics of Hyderabad that most of the trusted and high officials of the Muslim rulers of the State for over six centuries have been mostly Hindus. Akannah and Madannah were the famous chief ministers of Thana Shah, the last of the Qutub Shahi Kings of Golconda. Under the Asafjahi rule, the names of Hindu ministers who have gone down in history are Raja Raghunath Dass, a Brahmin of Chicacole; Raja Pratapvant, a Yajurvedi Brahmin of Sangamner, who died in an encounter with the Marathas when they attacked Aurangabad; Shamraj Rai Rayan; Raja Chandoo Lal; and Maharaja Sir Kishen Pershad Bahadur.

These prime ministers were not mere figure-heads but were de facto rulers of the State and some of them were paid fabulously high salaries. Raja Chandoo Lal, for instance, was paid one anna in the rupee on the gross revenue of the State.

As for the attitude of the Muslim rulers towards their Hindu subjects, one has to ponder over the instructions given to his son by Nizam-ul-Mulk, the founder of the Asafjahi dynasty in Hyderabad, which read as follows:

“1. It behoves the Prince of the Deccan to be at peace with the Marathas who are the land-holders of this territory.

“2. Be careful how you destroy the human fabric, the constructor of which is the God of all the worlds. The criminal who deserves to be put to death, deliver over to the administrator of the law.

“3. Be not a friend of ease and give not up travel; for in that depend many arrangements; and consider that quarters are necessary for peoples' repose, and it is also well to station troops near their homes so that population may go on.

"4. Distribute your whole time, night and day, in the service of God and the business of His people, and in relaxation and never sit idle.

"5. In important affairs, ask the blessed intercessions of venerable and holy men.

"6. Destroy no man's rights, and give to each servant his time of service, and after a year or so, remove one man and appoint another, but do not appoint a mean man to do a noble man's work and vice versa.

"7. Keep each man in his proper bounds, and look upon younger brothers as sons, and do not admit mean persons to your company or court, and do not relinquish the respect due to the shadow of God (the Emperor) who is your benefactor. Nadir Shah, the ruler of Persia, came to Delhi with overwhelming force, and through his excessive favour towards me showed inclination to bestow on me the Empire of India. Immediately I said: 'We are servants, and I should become notorious for ingratitude, and Your Majesty would incur the odium of breach of faith.' Nadir was delighted and applauded what I said.

"8. As far as possible, do not take the initiative in the war, not even if your adversary should be inferior to you. And when your opponent commences war against you, ask help of God and strive to repel him; and seek not war with one who proposes peace."

H. G. Briggs writing in his narrative of this great ruler says:

"The Mahratta chieftains who fought and treated with him respected this man both as friend and foe."

Mir Mahbub Ali Khan, the father of the present Nizam, was another typical Muslim ruler who strove all his life for the welfare of his Hindu and other subjects and was loved by them as very few rulers have been loved.

The present Nizam himself far from living the traditional life of a ruler takes a keen personal interest in all his subjects irrespective of caste, creed, community or religion. S. R. Date, the Hindu Sabha author of the **Bhaganagar Struggle**, who calls him a despotic ruler and many other uncomplimentary names, pays him the following unconscious tribute:

“He (the Nizam) is a man of restless energy. For him, it is not at all unusual to work from early in the morning till late in the evening and sometimes even far into the night. He is very simple in his habits and very regular. He has no passions or hobbies of any kind. He rarely goes out of the ‘King Kothi’ and all his walking hours are devoted to making enquiries about what is happening in his extensive dominions.”

NIZAM'S RELIGION: ‘LOVE TOWARDS ALL’

The Nizam's own views about his duties and responsibilities are brought forth clearly in a statement which he issued some eight years ago and to which he seems to have carefully adhered all his life. He says:

“Whatever may be the religion of my House and my own personal beliefs, I am, as a Ruler, the follower of another religion as well, which must be characterised as ‘love towards all’; because under me live people of different faiths and different communities and the protection of their houses of worship has for long been part of the Constitution of my State. I do not desire, therefore, to injure with narrow-mindedness the susceptibilities of any community or faith, or to distort the practice of my own religion in such a manner as to earn the title of a bigot. It has throughout been my principle and that of my fore-fathers to look upon all religions without difference or distinction, and to cause no weakening of our rule by interference in the practice of any

religion. In my capacity of a Ruler, I consider myself to be without any religion, not in the sense of being an atheist, but in the sense of being without bias as a Ruler for or against any particular religion or community. In that faith, I and my forefathers have taken just pride and will continue to do so, and I trust that my descendants will also, God willing, follow the same principle."

Is this ruler "a staunch and fanatic Muslim"? Has he "imbibed in his mind the idealism of Aurangzeb" and is he "following in the footsteps of that august monarch?" Mr. Date, the author of **Bhaganagar Struggle**, who makes these unjustified allegations also imputes to the Nizam that "he is made to believe that he must proselytise the Islam at least in his State and carry on the mission of his forefathers of converting the Hindu subjects to the faith of Islam on a mass scale; and if in these days he cannot, like Aurangzeb, open-facedly use his sword for this purpose, he fulfils his aim by using pressure of his power and purse."

The Hindu subjects of the Nizam who are more than twelve million and include among them many who are most conservative and orthodox, can themselves give a fitting reply to such an unjust and uncharitable aspersion on their ruler's motives and life.

For any one who has eyes to see, there are, in fact, naked bald facts which speak more eloquently than words. Imagine a Muslim 'fanatic' ruler donating a lakh of rupees to the Benares Hindu University!

Imagine him further contributing several thousands to the Bhandarkar Research Institute for research in Hindu scriptures!

An Aurangzeb, as conceived by the Hindu Sabhaites, however sophisticated with modern political learning, cannot be expected like the Nizam to spend several lakhs of rupees annually on the maintenance

and upkeep of several thousand temples within the Dominions. If this is considered as a 'necessary and unavoidable evil' by the incorrigible doubters, why should this so-called fanatical Muslim ruler go out of his way to offer thousands of rupees to temples which are outside his territory and jurisdiction if not purely out of a realisation of the one-ness of God and humanity.

One of the many other cruel imputations made against the Nizam by his critics and maligners is that he is a miser and loves to hoard money. But one look at Hyderabad and the social, economic and other reforms achieved within the space of a quarter of a century, will make one realise how the 'miser' has been farming the revenues of the State with a view to benefit the millions of his poor subjects!

MAKER OF MODERN HYDERABAD

The beginning of Modern Hyderabad with its wide roads, up-to-date transportation facilities, growing industries, improved agriculture and public prosperity dates, in fact, from the accession to the throne of the present Nizam.

There is hardly any other Indian State or British Indian province which, judged by its finances, its internal progress, its industrial, educational, social and other achievements, and its spirit of progress, can stand comparison with Hyderabad.

While a large number of Indian princes are, rightly or wrongly, enjoying the reputation of pleasure-seekers and wasters, the Nizam is referred to by his subjects as a 'fakir' who stints on personal expenditure that his people may have enough for their continuous progress, and who moves among his subjects with that freedom and absence of royal restraint which conduces to the obtaining of speedy justice for them.

Extremely abstemious and simple in his ways, this enlightened and progressive ruler of Hyderabad

has made a hobby of his work, and attends personally to the minutest details of the affairs of the State which come before him for consideration. And not infrequently, the documents sent to him for sanction are found annotated in his own hand-writing and returned to his ministers for further information.

There can hardly be any doubt as to the great deals which have inspired Sir Osman Ali Khan in the various enterprises he has initiated in the State with his characteristic force and foresight. Accessible to the poorest of his subjects, this simple ruler who lives frugally and dresses unostentatiously has come to be looked upon in his own State and outside as another Haroun Al-Raschid. Nothing that happens in his State is hidden from him. He makes it his business to get acquainted with the conditions of his people by moving freely among them. The stories which his own subjects love to relate about him and his popular ways with the public mark him out at once as an extraordinary personality.

It is not easy to enumerate the vast and varied reforms initiated and carried out by the present Nizam. In order to raise the standard of living of his subjects, he has paid particular attention to their educational progress from the University at the top to the elementary schools at the bottom. In 1911, there were in Hyderabad, only 100 schools and 66,000 scholars. Now, there are over 4,000 schools and well over 300,000 scholars.

There are facilities for almost every type of higher education. Under the new scheme, which was announced not long ago, every part of the State will benefit from universal compulsory elementary education provided free by the Government with the object of making the masses literate. Considering that even in British India, such a scheme has not yet been found practicable on a comprehensive scale, even within the

municipal limits, the State of Hyderabad deserves credit for its bold policy.

The policy of the State in regard to education has been in fact so moulded as to encourage students to specialise in those branches of study in which trained minds are most urgently needed. This policy was enunciated by Sir Akbar Hydari (till recently the Prime Minister of the State) in the following words:

“As India stands today, her need is for trained agriculturists rather than Government clerks; for trained business men rather than clerks; trained engineers, manufacturers, doctors, artists, craftsmen, blacksmiths, weavers, potters, almost anything rather than clerks, because already, the supply of trained or, at any rate, qualified clerks is enormously in excess of the demand while the productive work of the country is largely in untrained and therefore relatively inefficient hands.”

These words have been acted upon and are illustrated by the starting of industrial training institutes, the encouragement of cottage industries with State aid and a State marketing organisation.

In the course of less than three decades, under the fostering care of its ruler, Hyderabad has taken great strides towards progress. Roads have been widened to meet the pressure of a growing traffic, communications have been improved and brought up-to-date, slums have been cleared and model houses set up, and public health has attained a very high standard of practical perfection.

Cottage industries have been built up with State aid thus providing employment to a large number of enterprising people, and encouraging the cult of industry in the Dominions. An industrial fund specially created with a crore of rupees has helped Hindus, Muslims and others alike to set themselves up

independently in life even in the absence of any personal capital.

PRACTICAL SWADESHI

To provide the villager with a subsidiary means of income to supplement his main earnings through the cultivation of land, the Nizam's Government has sanctioned a scheme for the introduction of hand-spinning and weaving of Khaddar in a limited number of villages.

Yet another scheme is to supply to weavers a limited quantity of mill yarn. The purpose is two-fold: to stimulate the production of such articles as towels, newar, etc. and supply yarn at the rates lower than those charged by private dealers. A qualified artisan is posted to every selected village to initiate the villagers in the modernised process of weaving, and he works under the direct supervision of a Demonstrator appointed to direct the work under the scheme.

For the development of the village industries, Government have proposed the purchasing of certain appliances to be kept in the villages for demonstration purposes. These appliances will be used in teaching the weavers how to use them for an economic production of articles such as tatpatty, newar, chetai, rope-making, etc.

The weaving of Khadi, as distinct from the political agitation carried on under cover of Khadi work, has also been encouraged by the Government. A Revenue Department Circular dated 23rd March 1939 addressed to all District Commissioners in the Dominions on the subject of allowing the holding of public meetings of a non-political character such as Khadi work says:

"I am to emphasise in particular that there are no reasons for denying the importance of khaddar. This State so far from objecting to the advocacy of the

use of khaddar has permitted the work of the All-India Spinners' Association to be carried out within the State, and has, in other ways, helped to promote the objects of the Association."

Not many months ago, the Hon'ble Syed Abdul Aziz, Judicial Member, presided over a khadi exhibition and spoke in warm terms about the progress of and need for greater use of Khadi in the State.

It has in fact been the acknowledged policy of the Government of the Nizam to encourage local industries and manufacture, and Sir Akbar Hydari, the Prime Minister of the State, recently reiterated this in the following words:

"In our stores purchase policy, no matter in what department, we have always been guided by the principle that preference should be given, first and foremost, to articles produced or manufactured in the Dominions."

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

Apart from the policy of the Government to stimulate local industries, the present war conditions have necessitated extra efforts to manufacture, among other things, medicines whose import has been inevitably restricted. As a result of laborious researches spread over many months, it has now become possible for the State to provide effective substitutes for those medicines which are not available today. Among these medicinal products of the State are ateberine and other drugs such as sulphonamides necessary in all cases of bacterial infection, coramine used extensively as a heart tonic, and benzedrine used in all cases of colds, etc.

Among the industrial products of the State is starch manufactured locally from Jowar which has been selected for its cheapness. At present, seven textile mills in the State are purchasing three lakhs worth of locally produced starch.

The manufacture of liquid glucose and powder glucose are also linked up with the starch industry. The coloured liquid glucose is used in textile, tanning and paper industries, and the powder glucose in the manufacture of medicinal products.

Casein plastics are also being prepared in the Dominions for the manufacture of buttons and other decorative articles of common use. Before the war, all casein used to be exported to Germany for being used in the manufacture of buttons. Now, it is used for local industrial purposes.

The bakelite industry is another which has been showing marked progress in the State. Previously, bakelite powder used to be imported into the country from abroad, but successful experiments at the Government industrial laboratory have led to its economical production locally thus eliminating foreign imports.

The State mills and the recently organised sugar factory provide for the employment of thousands of people who otherwise would have been forced to go outside the territory in search of work.

There are a number of private-owned factories too which are encouraged by the Government with machinery, technical advice, and financial help where necessary.

The tobacco industry is an important unit in the internal economy of the State. Over thirty-six million pounds are produced from 72,000 acres of plantation, and the cigarette factories in the Dominions not only meet the local requirements but export large stocks to the neighbouring provinces.

The cotton and textile industries, which are economically the most important, thrive on local cotton which is equal to ten per cent. of the cotton grown in India.

It is a little known fact that Hyderabad produces the largest quantity of castor of any other country in the world, the acreage under it being 88,000 and the yield not less than 57,000 tons of seed per annum. Other oil seeds are also grown in the State important among them being ground-nut with over a million acres under cultivation and linseed with 400,000 acres.

The State is rich in natural resources and there are fairly large deposits of iron and coal.

Between 1891 and 1920, there used to be considerable gold-mining activities in the Dominions. The mines at Wandali, Topuldoddi, and Hutti, which were worked yielded 2,55,222 fine ounces of gold. About four years ago, the Government took up the question of reviving the gold mining industry on the strength of a geological survey of the gold-bearing rocks in the Raichur district. The steadily rising prices of gold were a further stimulus to this action. At present, the mines at Hutti are being worked, and it is expected that the place will become an important gold-producing centre of India.

Besides gold, there are also diamond mines in the State, and preliminary surveys in regard to both have cost well above £ 350,000.

STIMULATING AGRICULTURE

Though industries are steadily rising and rapidly progressing, the majority of the population of the State are still engaged in agriculture.

The important food crops of the State are jowar, rice and wheat whose value at a time when prices were low amounted to no less than 1473 lakhs. These and other agricultural pursuits thrive because of the various irrigation works provided by the Government at a cost of many crores of rupees.

About fifteen miles above the city of Hyderabad, two beautiful reservoirs, the Osmansagar and the

Himayatsagar, have been formed by the harnessing of the Essi and the Musi rivers at a cost of nearly one and a half crore of rupees, thus eliminating the danger of floods which was a perpetual menace during the monsoons and ensuring an adequate supply of water for the population.

The reservoir known as the Osmansagar, which is the main source of supply of potable water to the city of Hyderabad, its suburbs and Secunderabad, has a catchment area of 285 sq. miles. It was completed in 1920 at a total cost of Rs. 54 lakhs and has a permanent storage capacity of 3106 million cubic feet for water supply and irrigation and 6829 million cubic feet for flood storage.

The other reservoir, known as Himayatsagar after the Prince of Berar, has a flood storage of 2623 million cubic feet and a permanent storage of 3806 million cubic feet.

When the water supply schemes were first mooted, it was expected that on the basis of the previous census figures, it would meet the needs of the population for at least two or three decades. But the improved mode of living, modern methods of construction, and the many fresh uses to which water has been put in industrial and other schemes, have necessitated a remodelling of the water scheme to meet the increasing demand.

Among the various irrigation schemes which have vastly relieved agriculture in the State are the Wyra project and the Palair reservoir in the Warangal district, the former irrigating 17,500 acres and the latter 20,000 acres and the two costing 31½ lakhs and 24 lakhs respectively. The Pocharam and the Fatehnagar projects in the Medak districts irrigate an area of 13,000 acres and 5,400 acres and were completed at a cost of Rs. 32 lakhs and Rs. 6 lakhs respectively.

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

These are only a few of the rural reconstruction measures. There are many others which have gone a long way in ameliorating the condition of the village population.

Neat and clean villages surrounded by green paddy and sugar-cane fields, bear testimony to this. Out of a total of 519 villages, 222 have been provided with modern roads at a cost of Rs. 2,64,548 and the process of modernising is steadily being extended to the rest of the rural area. The problem of pure water supply is also being tackled and 69 villages have already been provided with pucca wells costing Rs. 45,201.

Weekly bazars have now become a regular feature of village life in the Dominions. A typical village market consists of rows after rows of detached raised platforms constructed on plots provided outside the village so that congestion and filth are kept away from the living space in the interior.

The recreational side of village life has also been given attention to by the Government of the Nizam. Public parks and play-grounds have been provided practically in each village. Chowdis which serve as meeting places for villagers have been constructed in 177 villages at a cost of Rs. 75,288 and the village Punchayats, conferences and social gatherings are held in them.

The measures initiated by Government for debt conciliation and agriculturists' relief have largely contributed to the happiness of the poor peasant who formerly used to be at the mercy of the inconsiderate and usurious money-lender.

The Co-operative movement, too, has been contributing to the relief of the poor peasant and the middle-class man. The total number of societies in 1938-39 was 3638 as against 3373 in the previous year, and the working capital improved from Rs. 2,60,98,720 to

Rs. 2,74,73,811. The membership of the societies also increased from 120,467 in 1937|38 to 1,37,948 in 1939|39. The Dominions Bank with forty central banks maintained its strong financial position. The agricultural credit societies increased in number from 2693 to 2909 and their membership rose from 56,561 to 63,359 the working capital increasing from Rs. 40,38,085 to Rs. 41,81,828.

The non-agricultural societies also maintain a steady progress. Their number and membership rose to 659 and 52,629 from 612 and 43,800 respectively. The salary earners' societies had a continuous growth and had a membership of 19054 and a working capital of Rs. 34,42,214—77.8 per cent. being the members' owned capital.

Among individual societies, the Co-operative Insurance Society stands out prominently. The total number of its policy-holders at the end of 1938-39 was 1843 and the sum assured Rs. 19,39,824. The society receives a grant-in-aid from Government for the purpose of educating the rural masses in the benefits of co-operative insurance.

Another striking example of what co-operative efforts may achieve in any field of human activity is furnished by the newly developed residential colony in Mallapally in Hyderabad city. Among the many achievements of the Co-operative Societies Department is the successful completion of a scheme for the provision of houses for low-paid Government servants in Hyderabad city. The housing problem having become very acute in the city for those with small incomes, the Co-operative Department formed the Mallapally Housing Society with membership limited to those Government servants only whose salaries range from Rs. 50 to Rs. 275 per month. By advancing a sum five times his salary as deposit, a member of the Government could obtain from Government a loan of 20 times his monthly payment, at $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

interest the amount borrowed being returnable in fifteen years by monthly instalments.

The Society has built 31 houses on a plot of land acquired from the City Improvement Board, and the Government has granted Rs. 7,000 for the construction of a pavilion to be used as a club and a meeting hall.

The success of the Mallapally Housing Society has led to the formation of another society for the same purpose. This Society has acquired 25,000 sq. yards of land in Mallapally and proposes to build at least fifty houses there.

Along with Co-operation, the Government of the Nizam has also helped to popularise insurance by taking the initiative in this direction. The Hyderabad Co-operative Insurance Society which was established in 1936 has in 4 years' time issued 4452 policies of the total value of Rs. 36,63,945. The number of claims paid till the end of last year was ten involving a sum of Rs. 6,065. Of the total number of policies issued by the Society, 35 were claimed by rural areas the sums involved being Rs. 68,820.

With a view to stimulate rural insurance, the Government has sanctioned Rs. 10,000 which, with an equal amount contributed by the Company, is to be spent on organisational work for securing insurance business from agricultural classes.

The Society has also been devoting its attention to the question of providing facilities for menial employees of the Hyderabad Municipal Corporation to enable them to share the advantages accruing from insurance. The number of policies issued to the menials at special rates stands at 1054, the total value being Rs. 1,10,796.

ROADS AND COMMUNICATIONS

The development of communications and roads has been commensurate with general improvements

in the Dominions, and there are trunk and arterial roads connecting the thousands of small villages with the trade entrepôts for the purpose of marketing the rural products. The State also owns a railway with branch lines which is developing rapidly with the fast growing industrial and general progress.

The entire territory of Hyderabad is served by nearly ten thousand miles of road. The traffic in the rural areas is borne by the bullock carts of which there are about 700,000. The number far from being affected by the progress of mechanical transport is steadily increasing owing to the policy of the Nizam's Government which encourages the live-stock wealth of the country.

The Public Works Department spends normally over Rs. 241 lakhs annually which may give the outsider some idea of the extent and vastness of the physical improvements that are being undertaken and carried out by the State.

In Local Self-Government, great efforts have been made towards making the State both modern and healthy. The substantial work accomplished by the district boards, by the taluq boards and the younger municipalities and the town committees with a number of non-official gentlemen working in close association with them has constituted a foundation for the important reforms recently granted and will pave the way for an increasing association of the people with the actual work of the administration.

PUBLIC HEALTH

The conditions of public health and the measures taken by the Government to counteract diseases and epidemics can be easily realised from the statistical data of the medical department.

There are seven big hospitals in the Hyderabad city and fifteen headquarter hospitals in the districts. The Victoria Zenana Hospital in Hyderabad, the Rani

Shernapalli Hospital in Gulbarga and the aided Mission Hospital at Khammam are special institutions where women are treated exclusively by women. During one year, about 20,000 women including female children are treated as in-patients and well over 1,090,000 women as out-patients.

For the three years ending 1941, Government had sanctioned Rs. 11 lakhs for medical buildings preference being given to T. B. Sanatorium and the Mental hospital. But the building programme was so vast, that the medical department had to ask for an extra grant of Rs. 8,85,100.

The classification of patients treated in one recent year shows that there were:

Men	..	..	..	1,320,934
Women	..	..	..	652,707
Boys	..	..	..	681,604
Girls	..	..	..	455,653
Muslims	..	..	..	1,589,725
Hindus	..	..	..	1,459,416
Christians	..	..	..	37,108
Other castes	..	..	..	24,649

As tuberculosis is one of the most widespread of infectious diseases and about 3 lakh cases come under it annually with a mortality figure of 30,000, the Government of the Nizam has made the most modern arrangements for combating the evil. There are at present over 150 hospitals and dispensaries spread all over the Dominions which undertake T. B. cases, the biggest among them being the Lingampally Infectious Diseases Hospital. There is provision made in the Osmania hospital for the treatment of early pulmonary cases and cases of non-pulmonary tuberculosis, and an out-patient department has been opened at Dabirpura, this constituting the pivot of the anti-tuberculosis work in the metropolis with the primary object of preventing the disease.

The Government has also sanctioned the construction of a special T. B. Sanatorium at Ananthgiri at an estimated cost of Rs. 12,50,000. The Sanatorium when completed will form the spearhead of an organised campaign against tuberculosis in the Dominions started as far back as 1926. Beside the construction of this sanatorium, the plan for the future expansion of anti-tuberculosis work envisages the establishment of clinics at all district headquarters under expert supervision and at least half a dozen of them in the crowded part of the Hyderabad city. It is also proposed to build a large T. B. hospital in the metropolis to curb the menace of the fell disease there.

In addition to the hospitals for common ailments and diseases, there are special institutions for lepers, the most well-known of these being the hospital at Ditchpalli. A new men's hospital was opened not long ago for the treatment of leprosy and clinical research. There is another leprosy clinic at Hyderabad at the Karavan dispensary which is maintained by Government.

INDIGENOUS SYSTEMS OF MEDICINE

While the western system of medicine is given the fullest scope possible, the indigenous systems of Ayurvedic and Unani treatment are not neglected. There is a special department for Indian medical treatment reorganised at a cost of nearly Rs. 2,00,000.

In Hyderabad city alone, there are 1,586,619 patients treated in the Unani and 96,937 in the Ayurvedic dispensaries whereas in the Ayurvedic and Unani dispensaries controlled by the Local Funds, there were 1,686,144 patients treated in one year.

B. S. Townroe writing in the *Asiatic Review* of these public health reforms in the Dominions pays a tribute to the ruler of the State in the following words:

“Neither in Hyderabad nor in England (owing to the present heavy drain on national expenditure) is

it possible to proceed with the development of the health services as rapidly as many would wish, but His Exalted Highness the Nizam may well feel gratified at the progressive advance in public health which he has seen during the twenty-seven years' reign. Under him the field of activities has been surveyed; medical knowledge from all parts of the world has been studied and passed on to students of his own race; and the new preventive health services are moving steadily forward."

Mr. Townroe attributed this impulse to reform not so much to the public demand as to the wisdom, foresight and generosity of His Exalted Highness and his direct influence on his peoples' welfare during the twenty-five years of his reign.

Since Townroe wrote those words, four momentous years have passed. Greater improvements have been effected not only in the public health of the State but in the various other departments intimately connected with it. Mass awakening has been used as one of the preventive methods to free the State from the periodic attack of epidemics. A cinema van in charge of an Assistant Surgeon tours through a number of villages, the surgeon treating the sick and giving lectures in the local language on such health subjects as plague, cholera, small-pox, malaria and rural uplift.

There are also infant welfare centres and children's parks, public gardens and well-planned modern villages with bright and well-ventilated living space—some of the improvements effected by a Government which is criticised as "medieval" by men like Pandit Jawaharlal!

EDUCATION

Education which is an important factor in the progress of a people has been receiving every possible attention from the Government of the State. The three important aspects of education,—primary,

secondary and female—are thoroughly looked after and efforts are made to make education an asset and not a mere intellectual qualification.

The number of primary schools supported by Government is increasing every year, and their total number will be well over 5,000 with about 300,000 scholars. In 1937/38, the expenditure on primary education in the State amounted to over 27 lakhs, and the Government far from being satisfied with the progress, allotted an additional recurring grant of Rs. 7½ lakhs annually progressing to Rs. 12½ lakhs in the next five years, with a view to open free primary schools in every village with a population of over 1000.

Secondary education too is receiving increasing attention of the State Government which intends to introduce a vocational bias in it.

The girls' schools in the State number over 766 and the scholars about 57,000. The expenditure on this head alone has risen by nearly eleven lakhs notwithstanding the fact that efforts have been made to introduce co-education in the lower primary boys' schools.

There are separate instruction classes for the Depressed class people who are however found indifferent to education.

The total amount expended on all these educational activities, excluding collegiate education, comes to nearly a crore of rupees annually.

ART AND CULTURE

As in education, so in art and culture. There is hardly any State in India which has been spending as generously as Hyderabad on the preservation and maintenance of the relics of ancient art and the legacy bequeathed to mankind by an older generation long since gathered to the realm of obscurity.

The Archaeological Department was started about 26 years ago when Sir Akbar Hydari, himself an enthusiastic archaeologist, obtained the services of Mr. Ghulam Yazdani, the present head of the Department from the Government of India. The activities of this Department of the Nizam's Government can be best described by the glowing tribute paid to its working by Dr. Krishna, Director of Archaeology, Mysore, who says:

"The conservation of the Ajanta paintings by the Nizam's Government who expended money liberally in engaging the services of the greatest Italian experts ranks as one of the greatest achievements of archaeology not only in India but in the world. That these priceless treasures of Buddhistic generations were preserved was solely due to the generous patronage of His Exalted Highness, the amount of money spent on their conservation being not less than Rs. 30 lakhs.

All these various improvements, made possible by the self-denying and the dedicated life of the Nizam have been supplemented with the grant of political reforms declared in July 1939.

NEW REFORMS

The Reforms Scheme which is a comprehensive one falls under seven heads, namely, (1) recruitment to public services, (2) extension of civil liberties, consistent with the requirements of law and order, (3) the appointment of a Commission to investigate into and report on alleged religious grievances, (4) the expansion of the present legislative council into a legislature fully representative of the main interests with a view to bring them into effective association with the Government, (5) the creation of a Statutory Advisory Committee consisting of an equal number of official and non-official members to advise members of nation-building departments on questions of policy and all new schemes involving expenditure, (6) re-

construction of all existing local self-Government institutions and the establishment of village Panchayats and (7) the holding of annual conferences in all the districts to ascertain the needs and desires of the people.

The new legislature envisaged by the reforms will be a unicameral one with a total of 85 members, the members of the Executive Council being treated as ex-officio members. The number of elected members has been given a majority over the nominated members including the representatives of Sarfe-Khas or Crown lands. Thus, in a House of 85 members, 42 shall be elected, 28 shall be nominated with 14 officials and 14 non-officials, 3 shall represent the Crown Lands and 5 the principal landed estates. The 42 elective seats have been distributed as follows:

Samsthans and Jagirs 4; Maashdars 2; Agriculturists 16 of whom 8 are to be peasant proprietors and 8 land tenants; labour interests 2; industries 2; commerce 2; banking 2; legal profession 2; graduates 2; district boards 2; district municipalities and town councils 2; Hyderabad Municipal Corporation 2.

Five from among the Hindu nominated members will always be Harijans and one will always be a Lingayat. Government will also nominate 2 Christians, one Zoroastrian, and two women while provision is made for persons belonging to other unrepresented interests like journalists and contractors to be likewise accommodated by nomination.

Even in nomination, Government has left scope for certain elective processes to be set in motion. For example, in nominating the Harijans, Government might select the required five out of a panel elected by a Harijan Association or organisation recognised for the purpose.

Government have rejected the demand for separate electorates, and maintained the principle of joint electorates on the basis of economic interests.

The ratio of Hindu-Muslim representation has been maintained at 50 : 50, the historic importance of the minority being balanced by the numerical strength of the majority. While the Government realises that "no scheme can pretend to be for all time," it hopes that

"increasing association, education and experience in the art of local Government and in the conduct of representative and other bodies will result in the gradual expansion of their spheres of influence."

His Exalted Highness the Nizam in sanctioning the reforms has felt confident that

"if worked in the spirit in which it has been conceived, this Constitution will provide both a large measure of present advance and a wide scope for future expansion."

The reforms have been conceived in such a spirit of broad-mindedness that a host of Hindu leaders including Pandit Malaviya, Mr. V. D. Savarkar and others have welcomed them and urged the Hindus of Hyderabad to work them effectively.

The reforms machinery has already been set in motion, and the State of Hyderabad which by its progressive activities has long come into line with the advanced provinces of British India, may be expected, under the enlightened rule of His Exalted Highness, to set an example to the rest of the country in communal unity and the spirit of mutual tolerance. Any doubts on this subject that people affected by interested and one-sided propaganda may have entertained was dispelled recently by the Nizam in one of his unofficial statements to the press which clearly showed that the Ruler of Hyderabad was above religious influences and was inspired and guided by the only thought of his subjects' welfare.

This enunciation of his policy by the Nizam is in keeping with the traditional outlook of the Asafjahis

in their relations with the people, and coming on top of the various measures of public utility and welfare marks Hyderabad out as a fortunate and exemplary State.

When the present Nizam ascended the throne of his ancestors in 1911, the State treasury was in an impoverished condition and the people though contented and loyal were far from being prosperous owing to the limited scope of trade and industries and the undeveloped state of economic resources. Realising the indebtedness not only of his Government but also of his nobles, the Nizam set himself a task which few princes have ever dared to approach. Cutting down his personal expenses to the level of his poor subjects, he effected rigorous economy in all departments of his kingdom. He reorganised every branch of the administration, infused a new spirit in his officials and by his simple living and diligent farming of the State's finances made Hyderabad not only the richest but a most modern and model State in India.

CHAPTER II.

A COMMUNAL CONSPIRACY?

THE wolf was determined to eat the lamb, but not to look high-handed, said to the latter: "I am going to kill you because you abused me two years ago."

The lamb looked surprised and said: "I was not even born at that time."

"Then it must be your father," said the wolf and proceeded to his nefarious work.

This story is well illustrated in the anti-Muslim agitation in the Hyderabad State in the years 1938 and 1939.

When people have grievances, they seek redress through constitutional methods, by peaceful organisation and demands. But in Hyderabad, certain communal organisations like the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Mahasabha, finding that their extravagant ideas of Hindu dominance did not materialise, set out to embarrass and wreck the Government.

The agitation was as sudden as it was unexpected. It was conceived in British India by men who surrendered to sentiment, and built up their plans on nothing more reliable than the rumours of the market square regarding the alleged repression of the Hindus in the Nizam's Dominions. Every agitation usually has a constitutional aspect which having proved futile, more serious steps suggest themselves to the aggrieved party. In the case of the Hyderabad agitation, there was no constitutional struggle of any kind to justify the taking of the extreme step.

HYDERABAD STATE REFORM ASSOCIATION

The first political organisation of any kind to be started in the State was the Hyderabad State Reform Association. It was formed in 1921, at a time when the Indian National Congress, under the leadership

of Mahatma Gandhi, was agitating for complete self-government in the country through the Non-co-operation movement.

Agitators were busy spreading the doctrines of discontent in British India at that time, and Hyderabad did not escape the contagion of subversive activities which were expected to usher in an era of popular government. As was only to be expected, the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam sought to preserve the State from the pernicious influence of outside politicians, and consequently, did not permit the conference which the newly formed political party was endeavouring to hold. This attitude of the Government was interpreted as opposition to reforms, and a memorandum adumbrating a scheme for the introduction of responsible Government in the State was submitted to the ruler.

It is a curious fact that the first attempt at agitation in Hyderabad coincided with the Non-co-operation movement in British India in 1921 and ten years later, another attempt by the agitators in the name of the Hyderabad State Political Conference coincided with the Civil Disobedience movement erupted by the second wave of a serious political recrudescence in the country.

On both the occasions, the agitations were in the nature of epidemics contracted from outside. There was no disease in the body politic of the State to warrant their existence. They came, spent themselves and were gone leaving behind a few traces of their evil visitation. They had no immediate or direct bearing on the problems of Hyderabad to understand which one must go back to the period preceding the advent of the State Congress, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Arya Samaj.

EARLY MOVEMENTS

There were in those days, three distinct movements in the State based on purely provincial con-

siderations—a movement among the Karnatak section of the population, another among the Maharashtrians and a third among the Andhras. All the three were directed towards the main object of securing a greater share in State patronage in the matter of education, service, business, and commerce; and were confined mostly to the higher middle and middle class strata of the population. As a well-informed writer has put it,

“These movements—none of them either menacing or harmful—gave rise to a number of little societies, clubs, associations, etc., whose main purpose was to bring about the advance of their own provincials in matters, moral and material. The Government of the State, anxious to prevent the growth of militant provincialism and eager to maintain the solidarity of the people, gave all possible encouragement to some of the wholesome objects of these institutions. It was thus that hundreds of little towns and villages came to be studded with prosperous little institutions which enlivened the life of the people and sought to ameliorate their social, educational and economic conditions.

“As these institutions grew in years, unfortunately, they began to grow more and more aggressive in their provincialism. There was keener rivalry for State patronage on one side, and increasing dislike of rival provincials on the other side; and the State, anxious to prevent such parochialism, began to use its influence to resist sectional rivalries. This itself became the common grievance of all provincials. With this common grievance as the jumping-off ground, the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Mahasabha came into the field.”

ARYA SAMAJ AND HINDU SABHA

Both the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Sabha, as institutions, were initiated and organised, and for a

long time conducted in the State by British Indian subjects entirely. The Arya Samaj was a religious organisation which aimed at purging Hinduism of superstitions and other evils, and the Hindu Mahasabha, in the beginning, unlike today, had for its object the social, economic and political regeneration of the Hindus. The Government had not only no quarrel with them but welcomed them thinking that they would contribute to the real uplift of the Hindu masses who constituted 86 per cent. of the total population of the Dominions.

It is often said against the State of Hyderabad, as against many others, that its Government did not appreciate outsiders coming and striving to ameliorate the conditions of the people. This is not true. There are Christian missionaries working in the States. They are conducting social, educational and religious activities on a more organised scale than any other body, but without coming into conflict with either the Government or the people. If the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Sabha had worked on these lines, they would have expanded the scope of their useful activities by legitimate means without having to resort to questionable methods and pernicious propaganda, and would have found considerable support both from the Government and the general public. But what these institutions sought to do was to create disaffection between class and class which finally resulted in the breach of public peace and agitations against the Government.

It may reasonably be asked whether in these days of democracy and freedom of speech and action, any Government has a right to put any restrictions on the activities of any body. A correct answer to this will depend upon two essential factors; firstly, whether, the ideal conditions essential to the appreciation and growth of democracy exist, and whether, given indiscriminate liberty, one man's right will not come into

violent clash with another's. Even in the most advanced countries like America, there are restrictions on certain classes of people which would be considered most tyrannical, but which are perhaps restraints which cannot be helped and will pass away with the transition of civilisation from one stage to another and from improvement to improvement.

Nationalism, as it is understood in this country, will defeat its own end if under its specious plea, Brahmin-non-Brahmin jealousies or the poisonous growth of untouchability were to be carried by its ardent votaries from Madras where they thrive extraordinarily well to the Punjab or the North-West-Frontier where they are almost non-existent. In the particular circumstances obtaining in Madras, what is considered an evil in some other province may thrive with impunity and even with religious sanction, but, the moment it is intended to be transplanted to the soil of the Punjab, the Government of the Province has a right to take such measures as would help keep the evil from spreading. On this analogy, had not the State of Hyderabad the right to take such action against either the Arya Samaj or the Hindu Mahasabha which it deemed fit in the cause of good Government and public peace?

The Arya Samaj has been well-known in British India, rightly or wrongly, as an anti-Muslim organisation. If the Government of Hyderabad had been pro-Muslim, would it have permitted this notoriously anti-Muslim body to thrive in the State?

35 YEARS AGO AND NOW

Thirty-five years ago, the Arya Samajists, who are now championing the so-called cause of the Hyderabad Hindus, hardly existed in the State. The Census of 1921 records their number as 545 which rose ten years later to over 3,700. Today, they are over 10,000 strong. If there were any restrictions on the Arya Samajists, and if they were treated as un-

desirables as they complain, would it have been possible for them to have a fast-growing population and a large number of their prayer halls?

The Arya Samaj has been working in the Hyderabad State for a number of years. It has eighteen organisations in the capital city while its central organisation known as the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha is located in Udgir with branches in different parts. Ostensibly, its principal functions are to hold periodical congregations, organise processions, establish Akhadas, and employ missionaries for Shuddhi and Sangathan work. Outside preachers are often invited to deliver lectures and enrol fresh converts. His Exalted Highness's Government, consistently with the long established tradition and policy, reaffirmed by successive rulers, of religious toleration and uniform freedom of worship and preaching of all communities, has permitted the Arya Samaj activities to be carried on in the same manner and to the same extent as the activities of any other religious organisation in the State.

How did the Arya Samaj respond to this policy? Instead of appreciating the catholicity of the Nizam's Government, it went beyond the legitimate sphere of religious and social reform, and developed violent political and communal tendencies. Armed processions, law-breaking and defiance of orders, organised subversive propaganda, creating disaffection against the State and racial hatred among the different communities living in the Dominions, offensive preaching against other religions and communities, and active subversive agitation against the State, both within and without—these were some of the conspicuous activities of the organisation, which indicate only too clearly that its members were abusing the freedom of action and worship extended to them in order to guide a socio-religious movement towards political subversion and the inculcation of communal hatred.

OBJECTIONABLE PROPAGANDA

The nature of the Arya Samaj methods of propaganda has been camouflaged so well indeed that for a long time, people did not even come to realise their seriousness. For months, the Arya preachers in Hyderabad made a practice of referring to alleged attacks made by Muslims on Hindu women whereas in actual fact, no Hindu woman was so much as touched, and no information of any such deliberate attack had reached the Government. This alarmist canard to raise communal ill-feeling was as despicable as the provocative language used at Arya meetings to attack other religions and particularly, Islam.

Arya Samajist preachers and speakers were also known to have gone round villages inciting communal ill-feeling by spreading false rumours of atrocities inflicted by the Government or by the Muslims on Hindus. Hindu audiences had been exhorted to rise, fight the Muslims, kill them and overthrow them as the country belonged to the Hindus and not to the Muslims. Every act and intention of the Government had been deliberately misrepresented in order to bolster up complaints that the Arya Samajists and the Hindu community generally were oppressed. Allegations were made to the effect that the Hindus had been forcibly converted to Islam, often with the suggestion that this was done with the connivance of the State Government.

On many occasions, when there was a private dispute between two persons, Arya Samajists were prompt to give a communal significance to the incident so as to excite hatred between the communities. One of these occasions was the Sikh-Muslim drunken brawl in Hyderabad which resulted in disorders in the city on account of the Aryas forcing themselves on the Sikhs as their uninvited champions.

The Arya Samajists when they started their agitation in Hyderabad had fourteen demands, which

being based on patently flimsy arguments had to be reduced to only two. Even these two demands could not stand the scrutiny of a close observer and collapsed for want of truth. The religious freedom, and the freedom to preach freely, which these demands put forward, were already there. A State in which the following could be openly preached to the public, cannot be said, by any stretch of imagination, to have muzzled religious liberty. Here are a few specimens of Arya Samaj preachings:*

"Hindus, Rise up and shake Hyderabad to the very foundations."—Narander Pershad Saxena.

"The Muslims molest Hindu women. There should be no trace of the Muslims in India. We are going to kill the Muslims shortly. The Hindus too, should molest the women of Muslims. Nizam's State should not exist in India. There should be Hindu Raj in India. We should collect subscription, be united and carry on propaganda against the Muslims."—Baldeo, Arya Samajist preacher.

"The Arya faith is the only true faith. The Hindus will soon be ruling over this country. It only required unity among them to reduce the Muslims to a state of slavery."—Arya Samajist speaker at Nizamabad.

"If Hazrat Mohammed was really such a great scientist, why did he believe all his life in the fiction that the firmament stood on a prop. His belief in the view that Mother Eve was created from a rib of Adam but that afterwards, she became his spouse, likewise proves that the Hazrat was a great scientist. The offspring from one's body is one's daughter; and when the founder of Islam had married his daughter, why not the Muslims do the same?"—Vedic Sandesh.

"Hindus would one day rise like a tiger and devour all others."—Swami Chidanand.

* They are culled from a record published by the Government of the State.

"The Aryas should see that not a single Muslim could be found in India."—Satydevji, Arya Samaj, Dhulpet.

"Hindus must be prepared and collect subscriptions. Boys should be armed. The time was approaching when they would have to enter the arena. They must take vengeance on Muslims, beat them and drive them away."—Shanker, an Arya Samajist speaker.

These are only a few precious gems of the Arya Samajist religious preaching. To quote more is like wading through a lot of stinking mire. If what has been mentioned in the foregoing does not give the world an idea of the nature of the religious preachings of the Arya Samaj, nothing else will.

If the speeches of the Arya Samajists are bad enough, some of their books are still worse. Because of the inflammatory nature of their contents, the Government of the Nizam had been constrained to proscribe some of them. The titles of the following few books will give one an idea as to their contents and the Arya Samaj attitude towards other religions:

1. Islamic Gups.
2. Quran Qabile-Etabar Nahim.
3. Shaitan aur Allah mian Ki Jhadap.
4. Musalman mazhabki partial.
5. Kahan Quran aur Kahan Iswar Gyan.
6. Quran men Vaid ki Tajalli.

If one studies the methods of the Arya Samaj propaganda, there is no need for surprise at the volume of propagandist literature which is unloaded upon an unsuspecting public. Finding their own position weak, the Arya Samajists have tried to make a pact with the majority of Hindus by flourishing before them the fictitious danger which threatens their religion from the Muslim community. And it is in this way that

they have secured not only the sympathy but the temporary support of a few misguided people.

The agitation in Hyderabad has only been the thin end of the Aryan wedge. How far it will be driven, one can only guess. It does not require great intelligence to realise that the Arya Samajists are imitating the example of the Aryans in Germany and trying to prove their cause by the mass of their propaganda. Should the Hindus fall into the trap laid for them by the Aryas, it would be the greatest misfortune of the country. While herculean efforts are being made by the nationalist leaders to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity which is the only salvation of India in the existing political conditions, the Arya Samaj propaganda and the support given to it by an unsuspecting Hindu press will only make the consummation of India's national ideal an impossibility.

Like the Arya Samaj, the Hindu Maha Sabha in the State began as a socio-political organisation but did not care to give anything but an obscure impression regarding its political or social programme for the masses. It would strike one as very strange indeed that an organisation which hastened to make common cause with the Arya Samaj for the declared object of Hindu uplift had no political programme as far as the masses were concerned.

"HINDUISM IN DANGER"

The religious propaganda of the Arya Samaj, it is clear from the speeches, writings and activities of its prominent leaders, had for its main object the achievement of the political domination of the higher class Hindus. The Hindu Sabha's programme, if one were to judge by the speeches of its British Indian leaders, was to abolish Muslim rule and establish a Hindu raj. While the Arya Samaj tried to unify the Hindus with political visions, the Hindu Sabha began to play upon the sentiments of the masses by remind-

ing them of the days of Shivaji and his struggle for a Hindu Empire. Both the agitations which ran on parallel lines made capital of the alleged religious intolerance of the State, and kept up the alarmist slogans of "Hinduism in danger."

Why did not the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Maha Sabha come to grips with the problems of the masses if they were really serious in their intentions? Why did they merely content themselves with indulging in religious bunk? The reason is not far to seek. As far as class affiliations were concerned, the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Maha Sabha were purely capitalist organisations which were not so much keen on establishing a rule of the masses as of the top class Hindus in Hyderabad.

As things stand today, the top-class Hindus have got almost everything they want. Almost all the commercial and business concerns are in the hands of the Hindus. The learned professions are in the hands of the Hindus. All the State and private contractors are Hindus. The business of money-lending is in the hands of the Hindus. And the masses, Hindus and Muslims alike, are in the grip of the money-lenders.

Economically, the Muslims are worse off than the Hindus. For, while the Hindus have at least a fairly well-to-do middle class, the Muslims can be classified as the rich few and the poor many. Even the few Muslim aristocrats owning lands are in debt. Those who are in State Service are tolerably well off. Any reforms of a comprehensive kind will, therefore, hit not the Muslim masses or even the few Muslim aristocrats but the Hindu business class, the commercial magnates and the money-lenders.

If the Hindu Sabha and the Arya Samaj appealed to the religious susceptibilities of the masses, it was obviously because they wanted to use the latter as a lever to move the Government. They could, of course,

talk of responsible Government ad infinitum, but it was only in a vague sort of way. The type of responsible government which the Hindu Sabhaites and the Arya Samajists were demanding from the Nizām was one that would bring them into power and perpetuate the exploitation of the Hindu and Muslim masses for the benefit of the moneyed few. To illustrate this, one can recall to mind the opposition which was organised to defeat the bill which the Government wanted to introduce for putting restrictions on the exploitation of the poor by the money-lenders. These measures have been adopted by the Congress and non-Congress ministries in British India, but in Hyderabad, the bill met with a most insidious and pernicious type of propaganda which finally assumed a communal aspect.

In the presidency of Madras which is contiguous to Hyderabad, the money-lender's act restricts the rate of interest to 6 per cent. In Hyderabad, the Government took a compromising view of the position and kept it at a higher level of 12 per cent. Even then, the exploiting classes were not satisfied and rushed assistance to the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Mahasabha to harass the Government in every possible way. Thus, by a curious irony of fate, the exploiters became the saviours, and in the name of religion sought to strengthen the yoke of slavery upon the exploited masses.

HYDERABAD HINDU SUBJECTS' LEAGUE

While the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Mahasabha worked openly as communal bodies, there was a third party, an off-shoot of the Hindu Mahasabha, which went under the high sounding title of the Hyderabad Hindu Subjects' League. The activities of this party were mainly political. Prominent among its members were Mahrashtrians. They held their first Conference at Partur in 1937 and the second in June 1938 in Latūr, when an Arya Samaj delegation was present. It was

at the latter conference that Mr. Srinivas Rao Sharma, a prominent Hindu leader, criticised in his presidential address, the policy of the Nizam's Government and exhorted the people to struggle hard and non-violently for justice and civil liberties and requested the Government to introduce measures of constitutional progress immediately.

This was indeed a superfluous demand, because it was a well-known fact that in September 1937, His Exalted Highness the Nizam had appointed a Committee to inquire into the form which constitutional advance should take—a task not only of intricacy owing to the varied interests in the Dominions, but of special delicacy in view of the respective positions of the two major communities. The Committee was instructed “to investigate alternatives for the more effective associations of the different interests in the State with the Government whereby the latter may be placed in continuous possession of their needs and desires.” The Committee comprised both officials and non-officials, with a non-official majority including a chairman, a leading Hindu lawyer of the State. After giving opportunity to all interests to make representations to it, the Reforms Committee submitted an exhaustive report in September 1938 for the approval of the ruler.

If the Arya Samaj, the Hindu Mahasabha and the latter's Maharashtrian edition, the Hyderabad Hindu Subjects' League, had been sincere in their professions and demands, they would have waited for the outcome of the Reforms Committee's findings. That they did not do so points to their having premeditated an agitation on a wide and concerted scale. The time and circumstances were somewhat opportune. The Congress had come into power in a majority of British Indian provinces. The Hindu-Muslim riots of January 1938 in Hyderabad had lent themselves conveniently to the propagandists to agitate among the masses.

Agitations inspired and assisted from British India were not uncommon in some of the Indian States. That some of the interested parties in Hyderabad and outside seized the first opportunity for launching an agitation there was not surprising in these circumstances.

The first rumblings of the storm which was gathering force on the borders of the Nizam's Dominions were heard in the All-India Aryan Congress held at Sholapur and in the All-India Hindu Mahasabha meeting held at Nagpur about the same time. The State Congress, composed entirely of Hindus was also getting restive. "It was a parallel organisation to the All-India Congress in British India. It was similar in name because the organisers wanted to profit by its influence in British India, but it was kept separate from it." The intention of the organisers was, to quote a Hindu authority, "that the Nizam's Government should not be able to take any objection to it on the ground of outside interference."

SENAPATI BAPAT STARTS AGITATION

The initiative for the agitation, however, came not from the subjects of His Exalted Highness but from a British Indian, to wit, Senapati Bapat. As the Secretary of the Maharashtra Provincial Hindu Sabha put it:

"that great man could not bear the atrocities committed by a neighbouring State on his own people. He decided to do his best to redress their grievances. He had the good wishes of the Hindu Sangathanists with him. He gave an ultimatum to the Nizam Government to cease tyranny and grant civil liberties. He warned them that that he would otherwise start the Civil Disobedience movement."

Shades of Shivaji and the Redeemer of the Hindu race! Bapat, the Commander, (Senapati) did not pause to

think of the right or wrong of his attitude. In his self-assumed role of saviour of his community, whatever conclusion he had arrived at was right. He behaved neither like a British Indian subject nor like 'an institution' by which flattering expression he is praised by his admirers. He spoke like an emperor issuing his fiat to a petty neighbouring ruler expecting to be immediately obeyed. Could vanity and pride go any further?

"Commander" Bapat decided to start for Hyderabad on 23rd September 1938. His decision was appreciated by Mr. Savarkar, the President of the Hindu Mahasabha, who asked the "soldiers of Civil Liberty all over India and especially in Maharashtra, to follow up his heroic lead irrespective of party considerations and continue the civil disobedience movement without letting it lag even for a moment." Mr. Savarkar was a communalist and nationalist all in one breath. He talked of "the intolerable communal oppression to which the Hindus in the State have been subjected for years in the past" and the restoration of "the fundamental rights of citizenship to all alike irrespective of caste or creed."

"Commander" Bapat before launching his movement issued a statement on September 23, 1938 clarifying his intention. He said:

"Today, I am on my way to Hyderabad, the capital of the Nizam whose Government is just now engaged in wantonly over-riding the civic birth-rights of its subjects. Several other prominent States are acting similarly in a greater or less degree. Now, India is made up of the British State plus the feudatory ones which tender allegiance to it. This India cannot be owned by the British State, nor can it be claimed by its feudatory states as their private property. It is the supreme duty of us, Indians, to force these states to admit, both as a matter of principle as well as of practical politics, the fact that it is not they but the

Indians, namely, the Hindus, the Mussalmans, the Parsis, the Christians, the Jews and others, who bow down to India as their birth land, are her real masters. For the British to consider the State subjects as foreigners and for the States Governments to look upon the Khalsa people as foreigners is nothing but a game of legal clap-trap based on pure and simple self-interest. We Indians can never be foreigners unto ourselves and to one another. We all of us belong to one undivided mother-land. There must be an absolute and homogeneous uniformity of life and form running through our political life as a whole. It is the primary and supreme duty of us all, Indians, to be united among ourselves and to embark upon constitutional and civil resistance movements, insisting on truth and non-violence in order that our indigenious as well as foreign rulers should admit the fact of the political, economic, cultural and civic birth-rights of us all being the same throughout the length and breadth of our country, both in theory and in practice, and they, after putting the principle in the Statute book, should translate it into action in their everyday dealing as their sacred duty.

‘The Nizam’s Government having outdone all other States in oppression and repression, has first attracted my attention and inspired my activity. My efforts may not have remarkable results. But my humble efforts are intended to bring the tyranny of this State to the notice of better people likely to produce better results by their more effective labours.

“We want to see that responsible democratic Governments are established everywhere, both in purely British-owned India and the India of the feudatories like the Nizam who are protected by the British sword. That all these Governments must be organised into one undivided Indian republic, goes without saying. The nation is chiefly made up of hard-working have-nots including those who work on land and those who

follow other vocations and also the proletariat, without whose labours both agriculture and industry cannot thrive. So, by a "republic" we mean the Government, worked mainly by the representatives of the labouring masses, who are the majority in the nation. The establishment of a republic of this type is our goal.

"We cannot afford to differentiate between Khalsa and State territory if we want to create national organisation, indispensable for doing away with the British rule. The British Raj tries to perpetuate its hold over India with the co-operation of the princes. So, there is nothing unnatural or unconstitutional in the British subjects wishing to free themselves from the British yoke (injurious both to the States and the British subjects) with the co-operation of the State subjects. The co-operation of the State Indians and British Indians is mutually beneficial. The nationally self-conscious State subjects and the Khalsa subjects have got an identical end in view which is "a united Indian democratic republic."

"The advent of the day of Indian independence depends upon the speed with which the classes of wise people trying to arrive at a pro-national co-ordination of proletarian national and communal belief, gains in numbers. Such people alone can bring about the unity necessary for establishing Indian independence. The native States in India can facilitate the accomplishment of our ideals if the princes are inclined to be a little reasonable. But the wind does not blow that way.

"Not a single prince shows the least inclination to grant responsible Government. The princes move heaven and earth to put down with a heavy hand all the reasonably inclined servants of the masses, whenever the latter try to add to the intellectual calibre of the masses with the object of making them fit for working such a constitution. They put restrictions

upon the popular activity. they disallow liberty of speech, meetings, organisations, reading associations, etc., and thus take care to perpetuate the ignorance, the stupidity, fanaticism and cowardice of the masses. This process is in operation in a greater or less degree in all the States. It has assumed practically exasperating forms and dimensions in the Nizam's dominions. What is the antidote for this disease? How will it be possible for us to free our countrymen in the Nizam's raj from the bondage of these prohibitions? They themselves must move in this matter and we must help them. This ought to happen and ought to be done in the case of every State.

"We, citizens of Hindusthan, inhabiting the Khalsa territory outside the State, must set at nought the prohibitory orders of the Nizam and enter his Dominions, and must actively, yet peacefully, oppose whatever restrictions there might be upon the liberty of speech and other rights in that Raj.

"I think that we must also have recourse to the peaceful picketing of Government officers and such other satyagraha remedies in Delhi, the capital of the Central Government, in order to bring pressure upon that agency.

"I believe that processions with such slogans as 'Restrain the Nizam's activities', 'Victory to Civic Birth-rights', 'The States People must Enjoy all the Khalsa Peoples' Civic Rights', and picketing of Government offices will lead to effective results. These movements will be possible and useful in all great cities. But in Delhi, these steps will be particularly desirable and useful.

"I appeal to all the people in Maharashtra to look upon the question of civic birth-rights of the Hyderabad people as particularly their own and to do the needful. Satyagraha camps should be opened in prominent cities, satyagraha volunteers should be mobi-

lised therein, and they should be systematically sent to the Hyderabad Raj and to Delhi."

MOTIVE BEHIND THE MOVE

The statement refers in the vaguest of terms to the alleged oppression and repression in the Hyderabad State and makes no secret of the real object of the agitators which was to bring pressure upon the States and make tools of them in the ambitious scheme of some politicians to set up a democratic republic of Indian States and British India. It was worthy indeed of a political tyro who hopes to sway the feelings of the masses by appealing at once to their national and communal sentiments. Mr. Bapat, even went so far as to hide the real object of his party behind a 'pro-national co-ordination of proletarian national and communal belief.' One can easily understand a national consciousness, a communal consciousness or the economic consciousness of the proletariat but one's imagination is baffled in trying to think out how the three were to be welded into one with a purely Hindu agitation, deceptive and double-faced, one face scanning the horizon for the national goal, and the second face beaming upon an anti-Muslim and cent per cent. unprincipled communal agitation. The defence of Mr. Bapat's agitation comes curiously enough from a Hindu Sabha spokesman, who tries to justify it by saying that "every citizen of the one and indivisible India has the inherent right to demand elementary rights of citizenship anywhere in British provinces or the Indian States, and to fight against any restrictions placed on them in any corner of the land!" The agitators were so pious that they did not expect a reaction to the move. But it did come in the form of a forced agitation from the Arya Samaj, the Hindu Mahasabha, the State Congress and the Civil Liberties Association all of which under different names, were actually engaged in communal propaganda.

BEGINNING OF SATYAGRAHA

Senapati Bapat set out for Hyderabad on September 23, 1938, but when he reached the State, he was asked to leave and was subsequently sent back to Poona where he declared his intention "to organise propaganda and other work in British India for a period of one month" and then to proceed to Hyderabad for civil resistance on the 1st of November.

Bapat had thus made a beginning. He had shown the way. The signal had been given for the movement to start. Some members of the State Congress not wishing to betray the communal aspect of that organisation started the Hindu Civil Liberties Association in the State under the leadership of Yeshwant-rao Joshi who with some of his friends, Maharashtrians all, had consulted their friends and organisers of the State Congress. "They had already consulted the Hindu Sabhaites in Poona. They had seen Veer Savarkar. All had promised them full support." The help of British Indian Hindu communalists had been secured, but what had the "oppressed" and "repressed" Hindu subjects of the State to say to all this? Nothing of this is to be found in the homeric records of the Hindu Sabha agitation.

Mr. Bapat's satyagraha was announced on 23rd September in Poona, and on October 21, the Hindu Civil Liberties Union decided to take out a public procession on the occasion of the second anniversary of Wamanrao Naik. The Government of the State which was evidently closely watching the movement feared a clash of the two major communities and hence did not give permission to the procession. The organisers of the function themselves could not have been unaware of the danger fraught in the situation when they proposed the procession. However, the refusal of the permission became another grievance and brought the much-sought for opportunity to the agitators. Mr. Yeshwantrao Joshi, the leader of the

Hindu Civil Liberties Union, addressed a meeting of Hindus in the temple of Rama in Gauliguda, Hyderabad, on the morning of 21st October, 1938 and appealed to mass sentiment making capital of the refusal of the authorities to permit a procession. What he did not tell his audience was the fact that only a few months earlier, there had been a communal riot in the city of Hyderabad and that the Government did not desire to risk a recurrence of the trouble!

Mr. Joshi's appeal to his audience, in the atmosphere of a temple charged with tense religious feelings, did not indicate the desire of the civil resisters either for peace or the sanctity of the law. Instead of interpreting to the public the correct attitude of the Government, Mr. Joshi made use of misinterpreted facts as a lever to incite the Hindu public. He exhorted them to take the procession out and leave the Government free to do its worst. He said the Government would use lathis and even bullets against the civil resisters, but they had to be prepared to undergo the severest trial. He then referred to the various grievances under which they, as Hindus, were labouring and advocated the civil resistance movement. He laid stress on the fundamental rights of civil liberties of every human being, namely, the freedom of press, of platform, of association, of education and of religious observances. He said that the Nizam's Government had denied these rights only to the Hindus of the State, and emphasised that it was their duty as Hindus to secure them even with lives. The meeting was followed by a procession, and the first batch of civil resisters led by Mr. Joshi defied the law and were arrested.

This did the agitation of Hindu communalists start against the Government and Muslims of Hyderabad, to be inspired and supported by that section of British India which makes a fetish of nationalism and bitterly complains that Muslims have ceased to have any faith in its sincerity or words.

CHAPTER III.

THE STATE CONGRESS

THE Indian National Congress, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi has, since 1921, set the fashion in political agitations through non-co-operation, civil disobedience and civil resistance movements.

There are more than two opinions as to whether the Congress has a right to speak on behalf of the whole nation, and the aloofness of nine crores of Muslims, besides many of the other important minorities, has naturally raised doubts in the public mind as to its truly national character.

A political body which though well organised has unfortunately been composed of only the Hindu elements in the country with a leavening of a few accommodating Muslims, cannot be said to inspire confidence in the Muslim community as a whole. When further, it seeks strength from discontent, both natural and artificially raised with propaganda, it becomes a menace not only to the Government but to public peace as well.

In the course of the last two decades, the Congress movement, despite the vehement and indignant protestations of its leaders, has come to be recognised as a pseudo-national but intensely communal organisation which while working behind the convenient facade of national weal cannot but, by reason of its composition, derive its stimulus and inspiration from Hindu sentiment and Hindu ideology.

It is certainly not the fault of the Congress that it is predominantly, nay, almost entirely, Hindu in composition, outlook and way of thinking. But it is neither the fault of the Muslims if they cannot bring themselves to tow the line for their Hindu elder

brothers and humbly and respectfully play the second fiddle as a minority, and an unorganised one at that.

The spectacular demonstrations of the Congress in British India and its organised strength in seven out of the eleven provinces, encouraged it to extend its influence, directly or indirectly, to the Indian States. Whether the States people welcomed its pretensions or not was immaterial to the real purpose of the Congress which was to spread disaffection against the existing order and Government.

The new move of the Congress though fully camouflaged behind the smoke-screen of national consciousness led to curious results in different States. In Rajkot, despite Gandhiji's satyagraha and fast, the people stood by their ruler firmly, and the apostle of peace had to retreat gracefully leaving the 'tortuous politics' of Kathiawar in more suitable hands.

In travancore, Jaipur, Mysore, Ramdurg and many another State, political organisations fashioned after the Congress model have invariably served their purpose for a time only to end in an exposure and the smoke of ignominy.

In the State of Hyderabad, the State Congress set out for the emancipation of the people, and found itself shackled by too many communal claims to have any freedom for real constructive, national or welfare work.

If there had been a genuine desire for political reforms of an advanced character among the people, the Nizam's Subjects League which had come into existence long before the State Congress and which had among its organisers, both Hindus and Muslims alike, could have served the purpose.

The aims and objects of the League were to promote good-will and co-operation between the various classes and communities that owed allegiance to the Nizam, to safeguard the constitutional rights and

privileges of Hyderabad as a sovereign State, to secure and safe-guard the fundamental rights and privileges of citizenship and to strive for the establishment of a constitutional form of Government under the aegis of the Asafjahi dynasty.

OBJECT OF STATE CONGRESS

Why did not the League evoke the same enthusiasm as the State Congress did?

Was it because its members were above propagandist politics and strove for sober methods of reform?

Whatever the reasons for the moribund state of the Nizam's State Subjects' League and the emergence of an active State Congress, the latter's coming to life in full force, on the eve of a communal agitation, cannot but force one to certain unpleasant and disturbing conclusions.

In the words of a manifesto issued to the public,

"The object of the Hyderabad State Congress is the attainment by the people of responsible Government under the aegis of H. E. H. the Nizam and the Asafjahi dynasty. This object is to be achieved by all peaceful and legitimate means, and by promoting national unity and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economic, and industrial resources of the Hyderabad State."

The manifesto was issued in October 1938 and its signatories were aware of the fact at that time that the special Reforms Committee appointed by His Exalted Highness in September 1937 had submitted its report on 31st August 1938 and that the matter was before the Government whose announcement was awaited.

It cannot be said with reason, therefore, that the State Congress came into existence actively only as a movement for constitutional reforms. Further, even if its object were taken at its face value, the time

selected by it for action was misconceived at the best of appraisement, or it was deliberately made to coincide with a communal agitation which was being carefully fostered and organised both inside the State and outside.

ATTITUDE OF NIZAM'S GOVT.

What was the attitude of the Nizam's Government towards this political movement?

The meeting of the organisers of the Hyderabad State Congress was convened on 9th September 1938 in order to elect the Working Committee and to approve the constitution, and two days earlier, on September 7, the Government had issued a notification to the following effect:

“His Exalted Highness' Government has no objection to the establishment of political organisations in the State provided that these are strictly on a non-communal basis and have no affiliations outside the State.”

The same notification referred to the elucidation of the policy of the Government by the President before the Legislative Council in the following words:

“While His Exalted Highness' Government is not averse and is indeed committed to constitutional advance—that is clear from the declaration last year which has resulted in the appointment of the Reforms Committee—and regards civil liberties as implicit in any such advance, it is opposed to any constitutional advance on communal lines. It does not conceive it to be its duty to encourage any such advance, if aspired to in terms of the devolution of power or privilege in favour of any one community or class, nor can it allow civil liberties to mean unrestricted freedom to indulge in orgies of mutual recrimination. Obviously, we cannot think in terms of ‘Muslim Liberty’ and ‘Hindu Liberty’ or ‘Hindu Constitutional Advance’ and Muslim Constitutional Advance.’ That such is the line of

thought is shown by the fact that many of those who are loudest for pressing the claim for progress or liberty have played and are playing a considerable part in the promotion of communal ill-feeling and are directly associated with organisations unmistakably communal. While one cannot claim, far less build, nationalism on the foundations of hatred for one's countrymen nor seek to establish liberty on the destruction of the rights of others, the association of such persons with a cause diametrically opposed to the spirit of their actions can only discredit the cause they ostensibly espouse and make it natural, on the principle that one is judged by the company one keeps, for doubts to be cast on the intentions of a fraternity so mixed. It is the primary task of those who genuinely desire to sponsor the constitutional advance and liberty of the people as a whole to purify their own ranks, become true representatives of a people inherently at peace among themselves, and thus create a common, national platform. They will then have prepared the surest foundation for Government to give earnest consideration to what in that event would be truly national claims, exclusive of no community, yet non-communal, and entitled to the fullest respect. Otherwise, absence of honest distinction between communalism and politics must inevitably tend to jeopardise the chances of any advance."

The notification added that the policy outlined in his speech by the President was not only of general application, but had also special reference to the proposed organisation (the State Congress) which, with one exception, of a non-Hyderabad, was being sponsored by persons only of one community, several of whom had been taking a leading part in communal activities. It continued further:

"Despite the ostensible objects of the organisation, Government is convinced that the continued presence in it of persons predominantly communal in outlook

and aim will determine its actions. While the statement of Government's policy was made in good time for a reconstruction of this organisation being effected, and for its being based on broad national foundations, no steps in these directions have so far been taken and Government is thus confirmed in its conviction that the movement, ostensibly political, is in fact a cloak for subversive communal activities to which the prestige of the name 'Congress' has been deliberately attached for misleading the public. Apart from the fact of the resolve of the Indian National Congress itself that the internal struggles in the States should not be associated with its name, Government objects to its use, not only because it is being used for communal ends but also because it inevitably suggests association in the public mind with an organisation which has acquired a definite connotation in the light of the special conditions of British India which have no parallel in the State.

"Government is satisfied from its own enquiries and from its knowledge of some of the leading persons associated with the proposed Hyderabad State Congress that it will be, whatever its outward professions, constituted on communal lines and animated by communal and subversive ends which will retard instead of advancing the pace of constitutional reforms in the State."

The State Congress activities, viewed in the light of Government's declared policy and notification, issued well in advance, reveal the fact that there was no need whatsoever to precipitate a clash when the Government was actually engaged in considering the various proposals of the Reforms Committee. However, from the events that followed in quick succession, one can hazard a guess that the organisers of the State Congress had already decided upon a course of action.

On October 21, 1938, the Hindu Civil Liberties Union had taken the initiative in the agitation against the State by sending out the first batch of civil resisters. Three days later, the organisers of the State Congress constituted themselves into a Committee of Action and gave notice to the Government that they were defying the ban on the party. In the course of a statement, the Committee stated that they bore no hatred or malice towards any community or individual, that they were second to none in their love for the King and country. The Committee reiterated the claim of the State Congress that it was purely a non-communal political organisation having nationalism as its very basis.

NATURE OF CONGRESS ORGANISATION

To understand the political nature of the State Congress and its national basis, one must study the antecedents of its organisers who finally resolved themselves into a Committee of Action. They were Messrs. Govind Rao Nanal, Ramkishan Dhoot, Ravi Narayan Reddy, Srinivas Rao Boriker and Janardhan Rao Desai.

Mr. Nanal had come into prominence in the Parbhani communal riot case of 1931 and in the propaganda on behalf of the Hindu accused who were involved in it. He was a member of the Standing Committee of Hindus and in May 1938, and only four months before the 'non-communal' State Congress launched its satyagraha movement he had addressed a private meeting of the employees of the distillery at Parbhani on the subject of the riots in Hyderabad remarking that the time was not far off when Hindu women would be disgraced. He accompanied Mr. Vinayakrao, the local Arya Samaj leader, to Govrai in 1938 to collect evidence regarding the proselytising activities of the Muslims, and a month later, toured villages in the Bir district for the same purpose. In Parbhani, three months later, he arrived with Lt. Pat-

wardhan, a Mahasabhaite of Bombay, and visited the Hanuman Akhada where at a meeting under his chairmanship, Lt. Patwardhan said that they would have to retaliate with stones if a brick was hurled at them, and that the responsibility for the protection of their religion lay on the shoulders of the Hindu youth.

Mr. Dhoot was the Secretary of the Hindu Communal Feeling Committee, an organisation once formed in Secunderabad. In July 1932, he was known to be collecting newspaper cuttings reporting cases of alleged desecration of temples and abduction and rape on Hindu women by Muslims. In September 1932, when a Hindu drama depicting Rana Pratap's refusal to pay homage to Emperor Akbar was being rehearsed at the Marwadi School at Hashmatganj, with a select audience, Mr. Dhoot was known to have guarded the entrance. In January 1936, he attended the Poona sessions of the Hindu Mahasabha and at the Maharana Pratap Singh day, privately celebrated at the house of a prominent businessman in Hyderabad, he had emphasised the valour displayed by the Maharana in refusing to bend his head before Akbar. Nothing whatsoever is known about Mr. Dhoot's non-communal national activities.

Mr. Ravi Narayan Reddy had taken an active part in endeavouring to counteract Christian and Muslim missionary activities among Harijans. He was the person who in an article published in the "Deccan Chronicle" stated that it was wrong to classify the Arya Samaj as a communal organisation. The only difference of opinion, according to him, that the State Congress had with the Arya Samajists was that by starting a satyagraha from their platform, they had weakened the political movement in the State.

Mr. Janardhan Rao Desai first came to notice during the Gulbarga riots of 1924 for espousing the cause of the Hindu rioters. He was a member of a Committee formed to deal with grievances of Hindus under

the auspices of the Hindu Mahasabha. He was a member of the Standing Committee of the Hindus in 1932 and 1934, and as a sequel to a meeting held at Mr. Vaidya's house agreed to join a deputation of Hindus to place before the President of the Council certain Hindu demands and grievances. In 1938, he was known to have visited Bombay to engage counsel to conduct the case for the Arya Samajist accused in connection with the Hyderabad riots and later assisted as a defence counsel in that communal case. In 1939, he visited Udgir and addressed a meeting of the Arya Samajists and in 1940, he presided over the Karnatak conference which opened with the garlanding of Shivaji's portrait and amid the shouts of "Arya Samaj Zindabad."

The activities attributed to these principal organisers of the State Congress cannot, by any stretch of imagination, or argument, be said to have been inspired by any patriotic or national feeling. They were communal in the extreme, and however commendable from the Hindu point of view did not tend to reassure the Government on the subject of loyalty to the State and communal harmony though much lip service was paid to them in manifestos and statements.

The State Congress, like its prototype in British India, did not suffer from any sense of modesty in its self-esteem. It was fully national and representative of the whole country, by its own claims, but the Muslims and other minorities were nowhere in the picture or the ideal responsible Government drawn up by it.

STATE CONGRESS AND MUSLIMS

Before the State Congress came into existence as a desperate effort of an embarrassed party, the Hindus with a handful of Muslims had set up a Hyderabad Peoples' Convention to bring pressure upon the State for the grant of responsible Government. The Muslim members did not sign the report of the Convention

because they could not agree to the small percentage of representation which the patriotic Hindus were offering them out of a generous heart!

The State Congress itself had nothing better to offer to the Muslims and in its scheme for responsible Government, made it clear that

“although the Hyderabad State Congress considers the principles of reservation of seats for any community as another form of communalism, it will be prepared to agree, that as a purely temporary measure, to endure for not more than ten years in all, a certain percentage to the minorities say 15 per cent. to the Muslims and 33 per cent for the Harijans shall be reserved in the legislature.”

On what basis, the two percentages of 15 and 33 were respectively fixed, is a mystery. The Harijans, for all political purposes, may be included in the vast Hindu community especially after the herculean and persevering efforts of Gandhiji in British India. And it is no less mystifying that a weightage which is denied to an important and historic minority is offered in generous measure to the Harijans.

Another item in the scheme referred to the State services and stated that the Congress, on principle, would not advocate any reservation of percentage on communal lines and would suggest an immediate appointment of a Public Service Commission consisting of officials and non-officials. But when a compromise was being discussed between Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung representing the Muslims and Mr. Narsingrao on behalf of the State Congress, the following proposals, among others, were offered by the Hindu leaders of the State Congress.

“The total strength of the Muslim members in the Legislative Council including the elected, nominated and the official members should not exceed 33 and one-third per cent of the whole house. No separate

electorates should be provided for. All elections should be made by the joint electorates.

"Excluding the offices held by the other minority communities, the percentage of Mahomedans in the Government service, gazetted or non-gazetted, should not exceed 50 per cent. of the total number in all grades including the Executive Council. (Note: the hereditary services such as those of Patels and Patwaris should not be included in the term of Government service for the purpose of this issue). Recruitment of Hindus only should be made in the Government service, high or low, until this percentage is reached."

But the Muslim attempts at compromise like the Government's attempts for a peaceful solution of the Congress agitation failed with the launching of the Civil Disobedience movement.

A TRIPLE SATYAGRAHA

The State Congress Satyagraha began on October 24, 1939, preceded, three days earlier, by the satyagraha of the Civil Liberties Union. And on the 27th of the same month, the Arya Samajists of the State formed the Aryan Defence League Committee and joined forces with the movement.

A close study of the activities of all those persons, under whose inspiration the Congress was intended to work, has revealed that they had not only a strong communal bias but were actively associated in promoting communal objectives, and were members of associations designed to further those objectives.

Mr. S. R. Date, the author of "Bhaganagar Struggle," an obviously Hindu Sabha publication, exposes the hollowness of the pretensions of the State Congress by stating that "the State Congress men had taken that name for its association with the Congress in order to profit by the Congress influence in British India and pursue the shortest and perhaps the easiest

approach to the solution of their problem. They had entirely depended for every kind of help upon the All-India Congress."

The fact that the three movements, namely, the Arya Samaj, the Hindu Civil Liberties Union representing the Hindu Mahasabha, and the State Congress, started satyagraha within a few days of each other with apparently different objectives cannot but raise doubts in the public mind as to the ulterior object of the agitation which was known to have been premeditated and to be the result of the meetings between the leaders of the three movements in Hyderabad and their meetings with certain leaders in Bombay and Poona. It is significant that Mr. Vinayakrao and Mr. Narendar Saxena, both Arya Samajist leaders, had been working on behalf of the Congress in the districts and taking part in its 'constructive programme.'

Another claim of the State Congress leaders that the movement was a spontaneous act of public opinion gets discredited in view of the fact that the satyagraha volunteers were extremely limited in number and some of those who courted arrest were found to be hirelings and even drunk at the time of offering satyagraha.

The leaders, of a movement which was expected to yield the largest measure of public weal, had surprisingly enough agitated against the measures adopted by Government to alleviate rural indebtedness by making an unholy alliance with the vested interests.

That the State Congress was only another name for a communal organisation is proved by certain indisputable facts. The leaders of the National Conference nee' the Congress like Mr. Vaidya and Swami Ramanand Tirath, eulogised the Arya Samaj and sought the unification of the Arya Samaj, the Hindu Civil Liberties Union and the State Congress. Mr.

Shankar Rao Deo, a member of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress had also urged the unification of the three bodies. Mr. Vinayakrao, in his speech at the States Peoples' Conference at Ludhiana, referred to the assistance rendered by the Arya Samaj to the State Congress in the shape of volunteers. A Mahasabha organ published from Poona openly referred to the help rendered by the Hindu Mahasabha to the State Congress. Not many months ago, at the Arya Samaj meeting in Hyderabad, Narendra Saxena, a prominent Arya leader, stated that Mr. Vaidya had asked him to provide volunteers for the National Conference and that he had promised to do so.

VICTORY OR DEFEAT?

The history of the State Congress agitation is too well-known to need any recounting. When about four hundred volunteers had gone to gaol, the resources of the party had been exhausted and an appeal was made to the Indian National Congress for help. But the All India National Congress fought shy of committing itself to a communal cause and the agitation was brought to a close. Mr. Kashinathrao Vaidya, in the course of a statement issued on 23rd December 1939, explained the reasons as under.

“We feel as Congress men that the only method of proving our bonafides before the Government is to suspend our satyagraha for the time being, and afford them an open opportunity for introspection and searching of hearts.... This suspension might be attributed to our weakness, but no consideration except that of the ultimate good of the country should weigh and has weighed with us in this matter. This decision for suspension has been actuated by the firm belief that the very genuineness and the sincerity of purpose of the State Congress as a peaceful and non-communal political body is bound to react on the

conscience of the Government and that object will be best served by this suspension of satyagraha. As the country has exhibited sufficient strength and resolve, there is not the slightest doubt that if the necessary moral reaction is not forthcoming, our struggle shall begin with renewed vigour and continue with redoubled energy till its successful conclusion."

This statement can be compared with another from the same source which reads:

"The decisive cause for suspension (of the satyagraha) was advice given by Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Nehru and other Congress leaders that in order to make our position absolutely clear, it was essential that we should suspend civil disobedience. We could not disregard the advice of the leaders whose sympathy and support was a valuable asset in the conduct of the struggle for Swaraj within the State.

"We have more than 2,500 persons on our list of volunteers. The list is daily increasing. Every fresh arrest brings in an addition to the list. We have been obliged to decline offers as we realise that the movement in order to remain strictly non-violent, must depend upon internal strength and support."

While the two statements of Mr. Vaidya vary in spirit and in facts further light has been thrown on the history of the State Congress by Mr. S. R. Date, the Hindu Sabhaite author of "Bhaganagar Struggle." Mr. Date says:

"After the first rush was over, and some four hundred volunteers were locked up behind the bars, the most influential State Congressites ran to Wardha for help. But there they found everything against them, and were entirely disappointed. The State Congress men had taken that name for its association with the Congress in order to profit by the Congress influence in British India and pursue the shortest and

perhaps the easiest approach to the solution of their problem. They had entirely depended for every kind of help upon the All-India Congress. After the incarceration of about four hundred men, they were quite justified in asking for help from those whom they considered their trusted advisers in British India.....the pitiable condition of the State Congressmen went from bad to worse. Even after a heroic fight and great sacrifice, they had nothing but a disgraceful future before them. All their resources had exhausted."

Mr. Date referring to the statement of Mr. Kashinathrao Vaidya has bluntly said:

"the statements (of Mr. Vaidya) shorn of all gloss of hollow philosophy and platitude, and propaganda, is reduced to this. The State Congress men asked help from the Congress High Command who, instead of giving them any help, advised them to stop the movement. They had no choice but to accept the defeat, and they accepted it in the Gandhian way."

This is only one side of the Congress activities. There is another side which shows the real spirit of the body and the amount of sincerity it can be credited with.

The State Congress was publicised very widely as a truthful and non-violent body propagating the Congress (Indian National) ideal of responsible Government and the creed of communal unity. It was at best a cheap imitation of its British Indian prototype and shared its fate in its approach to communal unity. It was not to be expected that an organisation full of Arya Samaj and Hindu Sabha fervour should attract Muslims even in strictly limited numbers. Further, the attitude of some of its leaders towards the Muslim community in the State was not calculated to inspire the confidence of the minority in it. If any endea-

vours were made towards communal unity, they were confined principally to pious resolutions on paper and verbal sympathy which cost nothing and were easy to offer.

WAS THE STATE CONGRESS NON-COMMUNAL?

If the State Congress in Hyderabad were really national as it claimed to be and not communal as it struck everybody but its members, its leaders ought to be in a position to answer,

firstly, whether there were any prominent Muslims in their organisation, and if so what were they doing;

secondly, whether the leadership of men who indulge in aggressive Hinduism can conduce to the consummation of Hindu-Muslim unity;

and thirdly, whether it was not a fact that while the Hyderabad Muslims were ready to come to an understanding, their offer remained unresponded?

When the Government feared a threat to public peace and law and order in the activities of the State Congress, it imposed a ban on it. The Congress leaders thereupon started negotiating with the Government and resorted to specious casuistry in their arguments on the objection to the name of 'Congress'. In his very first letter to Sir Akbar Hydari, Kashinathrao Vaidya most innocently posed a question whether the Congress, after a change of name, would be allowed to function without any objections under Section 14 of the Public Safety Regulations or on any other grounds. The Government, to be fair, asked for information as regards the constitution and also a list of members or at least members of the working committee, in order that the matter may be referred to the Executive Council. The list of the members of the Working Committee included all those who were in the Committee of Action and others whose public

record left no room for doubt that they were too deeply committed to Hindu propaganda to be above communalism. The list also included a Muslim name, Moulvi Sirajul Hasan Tirmizi, perhaps, to make it look non-communal.

The resolution passed by the Standing Committee of the State Congress in this connection is fully illustrative of the spirit underlying the change in name. It read:

"Whereas differences had arisen between the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam and the Hyderabad State Congress regarding the name, and objection had been raised on behalf of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government to the name, the Standing Committee hereby resolves to change the name to "Hyderabad National Conference," by which name the Hyderabad State Congress shall be hereby known provided that the Constitution and the rules of the organisation shall otherwise remain in tact, subject to the changes that may be made hereafter in the usual manner, and that the original books shall remain subject to verbal alteration being made therein."

ANOTHER TACTICAL HINDU MOVE

Any body with a little sense would have realised at once the object of this new move of the Congress. In defeat, they wanted to advertise their victory. By securing Government's consent to what in the beginning appeared as an innocent proposal, they wanted to hold the authorities up to ridicule. If the State Congress were to remain, in composition and in spirit, as in the past, where was the use in changing the name? Or was the re-christianing ceremony a part of the programme which was intended as a eye-wash both for the Government and the minorities, and a tactical move to marshall together the scattered forces of Hindu communal propaganda? The Government however was quick enough to see through the game

and replied as follows through the Secretary, Home Department:

"that the anomaly still remains of the name signifying a mixed composition, representative of all the communities, while the composition itself is not so. Government is not aware of any attempt made in the meantime by your organisation to secure the support, by mutual understanding, of representative members of other communities in the State, although the organisation appears to have been invited publicly to do so. Government feels, therefore, that in the absence of such an attempt and of the conditions which alone could warrant the use of the term 'National,' the proposed name would be a misnomer.

"I am also desired to refer you here to my letter I had stated therein that your letter was under consideration of Government and I had told you also in person, even before its issue, that pending decision by Government, no steps should be taken to bring into being the organisation under its new name or to start activities like enrolment of members either here or in the districts, Government regrets to find that despite the case being still under consideration, the organisation under the new name has already in fact begun to function and enrolment of members is proceeding, although it is clear that such activities continue to be unlawful. The precipitate step thus taken in spite of the President's appeal last year for a common platform and the terms of my above letter has roused not only bitterness among certain classes but also the apprehension in Government that the spirit underlying the organisation is the same which invited the existing ban.

"In view of the above and of the results that may accrue from such an organisation functioning without the common support of the two major communities, more especially, as it has an object of far-

reaching significance to the future of the communities as well as the constitution of the State, Government desires again to emphasise the need for securing a measure of agreement which may justify the new appellation. The responsibility for consequences that may otherwise ensue and for the suspicion which the activities of the National Conference, so named and so constituted, are bound under the above circumstances to engender, must rest on its promoters. Government has recently, through the President, drawn attention to the fact that the needs of war and of security must influence its policy in all matters and must be the concern of every citizen."

Mr. Vaidya in his reply admitted "that technically your objection is right. I must apologise for myself and my friends for having hastily read into your letter a meaning I see we were not justified in reading. I hope the authorities will accept this apology." He, however, contended that the condition imposed was not possible of fulfilment. A body composed in the manner indicated could hardly be called national. "By national I mean non-communal in the sense that the association is open to all communities who subscribe to the object and the means."

On 7th April, Government wrote to Mr. Vaidya regretting that he should "regard as impossible the fulfilment of the conditions which alone would warrant the association of the term 'national' with the proposed name of the organisation, now defunct." It regretted further that Mr. Vaidya should hold the view that a body composed of representative members of all communities could hardly be called 'national.' "If members of one community, associated with the political activities of that community, can claim a 'national' complexion merely by virtue of an organisation having objectives which are non communal in appearance, their association with similar members

of other communities should surely help to substantiate that claim in fact. The first objective and the immediate problem before Hyderabad, not to speak of India, is no doubt, the promotion of communal harmony. This must take precedence of all other considerations. Government confidently expects that all parties will now bend their energies to that end and thus promote what all have at heart, the peaceful and steady progress of all the peoples of these Dominions."

The proposal to call the State Congress 'the Hyderabad National Conference' had been made immediately after the cessation of the Congress satyagraha which failed on account of public apathy and lack of support from those very people on whose supposed sanction it traded. The correspondence with the Government went on for some months, and Mr. Kashinathrao on behalf of the Hindu 'Nationalists' refused to believe that the inclusion of Muslims in the National Conference was essential to make it really a national body. His argument was that "the composition of a body is surely the least part of its quality. The national character of an association can only be determined by its objective." But who was to determine the national character of the body? The members themselves who represented merely the Hindu community and by very reason of their aloofness from the Muslims did not enjoy the confidence of that community in the least?

If Mr. Vaidya's argument that the nationalist Hindus would determine the future of the State were to be conceded, the question arises as to what should happen to the dissenting Muslims. The inference plainly is that the majority would rule and the minority would have to follow meekly. This principle of national rule had been practised in British India by the Congress ministries and resulted in the demand for Pakistan by the Muslims.

To make his argument more convincing, Mr. Vaidya supported it with inferences drawn from the events in Bidar or rather the riot which took place there on March 23, 1940. A nationalist like Mr. Vaidya concludes from them that "there is no security of life or property in the State for those who will not be practically slaves" and writes to the Government in all seriousness that "Bidar in our opinion makes the case for responsible Government irresistible. But the immediate object of a good citizen in such a case is to do everything in his power to secure redress and make a repetition of Bidar impossible. Some of us are convinced that violence is no remedy for securing redress and that non-violence is the only remedy. In the circumstances, we propose in the near future to adopt such means as may suggest themselves to us.

"You have invited us to consider communal unity the first consideration. May we suggest that no unity is possible unless justice is done in the case of Bidar and a sense of security felt by the injured community? It will never come by ignoring ugly facts."

But was Mr. Vaidya justified in judging of certain communal incidents in the light of his own biased views? He erred however in the company of another illustrious Congress leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who without being a witness of the Bidar tragedy or being personally acquainted with the various facts pertaining thereto, rushed to the press with a statement which was not calculated to administer unction to the sores of the Muslim subjects of the State. Said the learned Pandit:

"this tragedy has thrown a lurid light on the conditions that prevail in this premier State of India, which is premier not only in size, but in backwardness and medievalism. Do mobs take the place of Government in this State? And do they have passive or active support of the representatives of authority? This is a negation of Government and of

all decency. One's sympathy goes to the unfortunate people of the State who have to endure this."

But the Pandit, like Mr. Vaidya and others of the Congress way of thinking, never sympathised with either a Government or a people who were being made the victims of an unjustifiable attack. Many are the occasions when events such as those which occurred at Bidar have been presented in a distorted condition, and magnified beyond all measure or proportion for the highly national and commendable object of running down a Government and seeking the sympathy of the ignorant public.

On how many occasions, in British India and in the nationalist press which makes much ado about truth and justice, have one-sided, exaggerated reports about Hyderabad and Muslims appeared without their contradictions or refutations finding even a small space? It appears from this that it is the exclusive privilege of the Congress men and the Hindu Sabha and other rabid Hindu nationalists to retail the truth to the public both through the press and from the platform, and that anybody who holds different views or knows differently is simply a communalist or an undesirable.

To revert to the Bidar tragedy, Mr. Vaidya, Pandit Jawaharlal and others who supported their communal view ought to have known that a Hindu youth had no right to settle a quarrel with a tongawalla with a rifle. Further, Bidar had a long history of Arya Samaj trouble not only in the town itself but in the surrounding areas like Nelanga where the first trouble about Pandit Ramchander started some seven years ago. There was no justification for arson, but when a Hindu youth uses a rifle to settle his dispute, one cannot be too sure about an infuriated mob which is roused temporarily by one death in its midst and the history of local Hindu communal activities before it, especially, the desecration of the Tazia in the previous

Mohurram. Only a few weeks before the Bidar riot, Muslims of the place had waited in deputation upon Sir Akbar Hydari with a number of complaints against the Hindus. Obviously, communal feelings had been strained and the fact that the murderer of the Muslim tongawala had sought refuge in the house of an Arya Samaj merchant's house provided the provocation for the unleashing of mass fury.

But for Mr. Vaidya, the event was sufficient to make up his mind to bang the door on communal unity and to jump to unjustifiable conclusions. However, as non-violence was his strictest of creeds, he released to the press the correspondence he had with the Nizam's Government in spite of the understanding that it was not conducted on an official basis and though there was nothing in it which Government "was not prepared publicly to uphold." The correspondence was eventually released, and the State Congress got what satisfaction it could from it. There were a few more articles in the Nationalist press of British India advertising and airing the Congress views on fairness and justice, and the whole episode of the Congress in the State rested there temporarily for future developments to shape its destiny.

CHAPTER IV.

THE AGITATION

WHEN a people of a State or country have grievances of such a serious nature as were levelled against Hyderabad, and are as desperate as the Hindus were said to be, they do not wait for outsiders to open their eyes, or to tell them what to do about it. The Hindus of Hyderabad were intelligent enough to devise cures for their political and religious ills and brave enough to fight against any kind of tyranny. Why did they require inspiration, encouragement and support from Poona and Delhi?

It is an undoubted fact that Senapati Bapat started the agitation, or at least made a beginning towards it. When he was sent back to Poona by the Hyderabad Government as an unwanted outsider, he started propaganda against the State for one month before he led a batch of agitators from British India. Meanwhile, Bapat's example, blessed by Mr. Savarkar and other Hindu Mahasabhaites, had found emulators among the Maharashtrians in the State. They had to make the agitation look like a local affair and the much-sought for opportunity came on the anniversary of Wamanrao Naik.

The position of the satyagraha at the every commencement of the campaign can best be described in the words of a Hindu Sabhaite, Mr. S. R. Date, who says:

“Before he (Bapat) had left for Hyderabad for the second time, a Hindu Resistance Mandal was formed on 11th October 1938 under the presidentship of Mr. G. V. Ketkar, the editor of the ‘Mahratta.’ Senapati Bapat did not identify himself with this Mandal though he quite well sympathised and co-operated with it. He had desired a satyagraha committee on a non-communal basis. The State Congress was the only body in the State which had a non-com-

munal frame-work, though every member of it was Hindu. The Hindu Civil Liberties Union, and the Aryan Congress though intensely national in spirit and outlook were openly communal and religious organisations in their formation. They had to be communal because their grievances were communal, injustice done to them was communal. Senapati Bapat appreciated the point and the spirit behind these organisations."

SIGNIFICANT FACTS

It is in this strain that the Hindu Sabhaites are seeking to justify their various acts of aggression and rashness, and the book, "Bhaganagar Struggle" is nothing but a frenzied attempt to paint the administration of His Exalted Highness in the darkest colours possible, even by going to the length of confusing facts or misinterpreting them to suit the propagandist purpose of the Hindu Mahasabha. If any one has doubts still on the point that the struggle was mainly inspired and engineered by outsiders, and that some of the discontented elements within the State were carried away by sentiment and powerful forces working behind the movement, they have only to study the following events in their proper sequence.

September 1937—His Exalted Highness appointed a Reforms Committee to suggest a constitution that would satisfy the different interests in the State.

January 1938—Some of the Hindus of the Nizam's Dominions submitted a petition to H. E. H. the Nizam to grant responsible government to the people.

A communal riot took place in Hyderabad as a result of which the authorities took careful precautions to prevent any act that would contribute to communal ill-feeling.

April 1938—Mr. Waghmare, who had failed to hood-wink the authorities in the State and secure permission for publishing his anti-State paper under different names, started a journal called the 'Marathwada' in Poona. As a result of outside propaganda, there was again a riot in Hyderabad on 6th of April, and the Nizam's Government was compelled to put restrictions on the entry of outside religious preachers into the Dominions.

June 1938—The Maharashtra Conference at Latur wanted to move a resolution regarding the communal disturbances which was disallowed by the authorities as it was tantamount to lack of confidence in the existing judiciary which was trying the cases.

July 1938—There were communal disturbances at Naldurg, Latur and Humanabad. The Committee appointed by the Maharashtra Provincial Hindu Sabha made its report which was published in newspapers with details of the alleged atrocities by the Muslims. The existence of the courts and magistracy was ignored.

Senapati Bapat from Poona declared his intention to organise a movement against the Nizam's Government. The Aryan Congress at Delhi also sent a memorandum of the 14 demands of the Arya Samajists to the Nizam's Government.

August 1938—Owing to the intense communal propaganda by the Hindus, from outside the State, the Government of the Nizam was compelled to ban the entry into the State of the offending newspapers.

September 1938—The State Congress which was suddenly inspired into existence by Hindu leaders whose communal activities were not inspiring of peaceful intentions, was banned by the Government on 7th September. On 23rd September,

Senapati Bapat issued a statement and set out from Poona to offer civil resistance in the State. Mr. Bapat's statement is worth studying as it throws a flood of light on the real object of the agitators.

October 1938—The President of the Hindu Mahasabha discussed the question of Hyderabad Hindus with the Hindu Sabha leaders in Poona and the Bhaganagar Hindutwanishta Nishastra Pratikar Sahayyak Mandal was formed under the presidency of Mr. G. V. Ketkar, editor of 'Mahratta,' Poona.

On October 21, a procession was taken out by Maharashtra leaders in Hyderabad against the orders of the Government. They were arrested. Three days later, an attempt was made by Hindu communal leaders to start the State Congress which was banned. They were arrested for defying orders of Government.

November 1938—Batches of civil resisters from outside, mostly from Maharashtra, offered satyagraha. The State Congress set up its volunteers who numbered in all a few hundreds.

December 1938—Hindu students of Osmania University caught the infection of the agitation and started singing "Vande Mataram" in the premises of the University. Despite persuasion by the College authorities, they persisted and were finally rusticated. The "Vande Mataram" song was even held objectionable in parts by the Indian National Congress leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi.

The satyagraha continued. On 25th, the all-India Aryan Congress was held at Sholapur to discuss the problems of the Arya Samajists in Hyderabad and it was decided to continue the agitation. On the 28th, the All-India Hindu Mahasabha was held at Nagpur under the presi-

dentship of Mr. V. D. Savarkar and a resolution was adopted to carry on the agitation against the State. Only fifty volunteers enlisted their names in the open session to offer satyagraha.

January to June 1938—The State Congress having exhausted its resources, and a list of about 400 volunteers for satyagraha, appealed to the All-India National Congress but failed to get a response. Gandhiji and other leaders who were sufficiently far-sighted to realise the seriousness of the movement advised the State Congress to stop the agitation immediately but the national and Hindu press of British India continued to abuse the Nizam's Government with increasing virulence. The movement was finding so little support in the State and had to depend so much on batches of volunteers imported from outside under various pretences and with false hopes and temptations that by 10th June, Mr. Savarkar had to appeal to Maharashtra (not Hyderabad) to intensify the struggle.

July 1938—On 20th July, the Arya Samaj suspended the movement.

August 1938—The Hindu Sabha had to withdraw from the fight for want of support. On the 17th August, on the birthday of H. E. H. the Nizam, political prisoners were released.

After going through this comprehensive diary of the satyagraha movement, one is surely tempted to ask: what indeed did the agitators seek to get which was not already granted to them along with the rest of the Nizam's subjects?

OUTSIDE AGITATORS

It would have been clear as day-light to any one within the State that the subjects of His Exalted Highness, barring a few trouble-makers and a few sentimentalists, had no hand in what developed into

a communal agitation. Official records and the satyagrahis actually in jail proved that the proportion of State subjects to the total did not exceed 20 per cent. or one in five. The total number arrested during the six months from the commencement of the satyagraha to the end of June 1939 was 8,000, and odd. The bulk of these came from the Arya samaj organisations and the Hindu Mahasabha. Considering that there are 12 million Hindus in the State, and it is the grievance of the Hindu Sabha and the Arya Samaj leaders of British India that these teeming millions were suffering from civic and political disabilities, it is surprising that the State could not yield a quota of more than 1,600 satyagrahis.

The methods pursued in the prosecution of this campaign against the State Government were far from clean. The use of immature boys whose heads were turned by the cry of Hinduism in Danger, provocative slogans, the aggressive paraphernalia of mass jathas and special trains, a 'war council' and dictators, and the enlistment of volunteers from villages in the interior of British India, who did not know what they were doing, did not reflect credit on the organisations or leadership that provided the stimulus and motive power to the movement.

In extreme propagandist quarters, fantastic stories were poured into credulous ears that the honour of Hindu women was not safe, that there was forcible conversion, that temples were destroyed and that lakhs were spent by the Government on Tabligh and that Hindus were denied elementary religious rights.

ATTEMPTS TO DISCREDIT GOVT.

Insidious attempts were made to discredit the Nizam's Government officials. One Arjoon Singh of U.P. came to Hingoli in Parbhani district and embraced Islam. He was an Arya Samajist and ~~was~~ accompanied by four or six more Aryas. They first went to the Tahsildar of Hingoli and asked him to

give them permission to embrace Islam. On his refusing to do so, they went to the local Kazi and took from him a written certificate. It later transpired that this was all an ingenuous attempt to extract from the Tahsildar a written order authorising their conversion, and their real intention was to use this document against the Government as a proof of official intervention and force used for converting other castes to Islam.

A popular form of the vilification of the Government was the making of extravagant charges against the police. Many a satyagraha under-trial made complaints regarding the alleged treatment meted out to him. While these trivial affairs were treated as they deserved, with indifference, the propagandist press made much of them and accused Government of maltreatment and coercion. Among many such cases which have been subjected to a searching inquiry, there was a typical one investigated into by Mr. Banaji, special magistrate. The case in brief was that five youthful satyagrahis had complained of their being slapped and kicked by the police at the Abid Road Police Station shortly after their arrest. Two particular allegations were made that chillis were applied to the person of Venkatraj Reddy and that the tuft of hair on the head of Kodanda Ram Reddy was rolled round his finger by a police constable and torn away forcibly.

As regards the alleged application of chillis, this was not asserted in the statement to the Enquiry Magistrate by the alleged victim, and the Assistant Surgeon who had examined the youth stated that on questioning he was told that chillis had only been shown but not actually applied. The youth was examined by Mr. Rustomji, the Deputy Commissioner in Charge of Crimes Branch, soon after his release on apology and no signs of inflammation were found to substantiate the allegation.

As for the tuft of hair being forcibly removed from the head of another satyagrahi, the allegation was disproved by the fact that 48 hours after the event complained of, there were no signs of abrasion, redness or blood visible to the unofficial observer who examined the boy or to the Assistant Surgeon or to the Court itself! The surgeon as well as the Inquiry Magistrate found that the tuft of hair had apparently been shaved as short hair were visible growing on the scalp.

The Home Secretary to the Government in commenting upon this had said:

‘The conduct of the force throughout the present unfortunate civil disobedience movement has been characterised by a degree of forbearance as has itself been made the subject of unfavourable comment in certain circles and of favourable comment in others. This forbearance which has, on all occasions, been shown by the city and district police forces is part of the deliberate policy of the Government in dealing with the present movement. Government, therefore, desire to record their satisfaction that the charges made have been disproved after a full and adequate inquiry.’

Another complaint which on investigation would have been found unfounded referred to alleged restrictions on religious rites, the building of Hindu temples, and Arya Samaj Mandirs, the opening of new Arya Samajes, and even the hoisting of the OM flag and other denominational flags of the Hindus under a policy guided by the Ecclesiastical Department. This sweeping statement gives an entirely false picture of conditions in the State, and if refutation were needed, it is to be found in the daily life and worship of millions of Hindus living in the Dominions. The policy of the State in regard to the religious and other rights of the Hindus has been clearly stated in a Government communique which,

for obvious reasons, was suppressed by the communalist and the pseudo-nationalist press of the Hindus. The communique says:

GOVERNMENT'S RELIGIOUS POLICY

"The general policy of the State differs in no way from that of the rest of India, namely, complete freedom of religious belief and observance for all without distinction, subject only to the paramount requirements of peace and order, which are themselves conditions precedent to the enjoyment of that freedom. Such regulations as exist in Hyderabad for the purpose of applying this principle are framed not from the point of view of restrictions on fundamental religious rights but solely from the point of view of safeguarding public tranquillity. The same principles are recognised elsewhere than in India: only recently, the Archbishop of York with certain other divines enumerated, among essentials, of any true civilisation, "freedom of religious belief and of action in conformity with such belief, provided only that public order is not endangered." Hyderabad has, over a long period of years, and on the advice from time to time of leading members of both major communities, worked out a procedure based on the belief that prevention is better than cure. This technique may indeed differ somewhat from that of British India, but it has in fact kept relations between communities remarkably harmonious until in the last few years that harmony has been disturbed by influences from without. The old spirit was one of give and take. For example, on the advice of a Committee comprising a majority of Hindus, regulations were passed in the year 1885 regulating to some extent certain Hindu celebrations where they clash at long intervals with the Muslim period of mourning; but on the other side, there are orders against cow slaughter in Bakrid issued by H. E. H. the present Nizam, an order not found in British India.

What the amount of regulation in religious matters should be, and how it should be applied, are matters of administrative adjustment, from time to time, according to the needs of the people.

"With the performance of religious rites and ceremonies as such, the Government has nothing whatsoever to do. An exception is where innovations in public ceremonies endanger the public peace. Control over the building of temples or opening of mandirs extends only to the location of such places of public worship, because there is no factor which so much disturbs the harmony of the community or leads to unfortunate communal incidents as the unsuitable location of places of public worship. It is not much to ask of any community that in accordance with the admitted principles that religious rights must be exercised with due regard to the feelings of other communities, it should in locating its place of public worship consider the feelings of others. In the Hyderabad State according to the census of 1931, there were 31,373 temples, 5191 mosques and 110 churches. Records show that over 150 new Hindu temples have been erected in the State in the last ten years, and Government has yet to learn that any application for the opening of an Arya Samaj mandir for public worship has ever been refused by it. Far from it being the fact that the hoisting of the OM flag and other denominational flags of the Hindus over religious buildings is not allowed, such flags are to be seen flying any day in all parts of the State.

.IMAGINARY GRIEVANCES

"A charge often repeated is that Arya missionaries are not free to enter the State. Prior to 1935, there was no restriction on the entry of preachers of any denomination into the State. In that year, permission was for special reasons required of Muslim preachers only. After the communal riots of April 1938 in Hyderabad city, it was found necessary to extend

that restriction (namely, entry only by permission) temporarily for one year to preachers of all communities without distinction, and when this restriction expired in April 1939, as the Arya Samaj campaign of Satyagraha was still in full swing, it was found unavoidable in the interests of public peace to extend the temporary restriction 'until the atmosphere clears.' Prior to April 1938, Arya Samaj missionaries from other parts of India constantly entered the State freely, and whereas there are records of a number of them making statements offensive to other communities, only four cases have been traced in which (prior to the present campaign) expulsion or prohibition of entry into the State had been ordered, the last case being as long as five years ago.

"Yet another charge is that recognition has been withheld from private schools because the inspecting officers are Muslims, and that organisers are 'prosecuted' for maintaining schools without recognition. It is even alleged that during the last decade over 2,000 private schools have been closed as a result of this policy. These charges are not true. No record can be traced of any complaint to Government that recognition has been withheld from a school for reasons of discrimination of the kind alleged or of any, prosecution for maintaining an unrecognised school. The alleged figure of schools closed is a complete misunderstanding of the statistics, the basis for compiling which was altered in 1926. Whereas formerly private schools, however small, were included in the returns, from 1926, only schools of fifteen or more pupils, and registered with the educational authorities, were thence forward taken into account. The current returns show some 990 registered 'private' schools as in existence (which number excludes 938 aided and 341 unaided but recognised schools under

private management); and no such schools have been closed."

"Certain fundamental rights, it is said, are sought to be secured such as freedom for the practice and preaching of the vedic religion and culture, with due regard to the feelings of other communities, complete freedom for establishing and building places of worship, liberty to open schools, and freedom to take out processions. Enough has already been said to show that there has been much misunderstanding, and much misrepresentation, as to the true position in the State in these matters. It has never been the policy of the State to interpose difficulties or to continue temporary restrictions any longer than is absolutely necessary in the interests of law and order. New places of public worship are constantly being opened. And it has never been the policy of the State to discourage private educational institutions. No objection is raised to the opening of private schools, following any curriculum or using any language, provided that those with fifteen or more pupils obtain permission in accordance with the simple requirements of the rules. And in such matters, as public processions, Government has always desired to give every facility consistent with public tranquillity. If it is alleged that rules and regulations have on occasion been applied in a manner leading to the nursing of grievance, or that discrimination or undue delay has occurred, it has always been the policy of Government to minimise delays, to simplify procedure and to insist on uniformity of practice. The remedy of approach to Government in specific cases has always lain, and will always lie, open.

"Every territorial unit in India has administrative problems peculiar to itself, arising out of the composition of its population and the history and tradi-

tions of the area. In Hyderabad, fundamental religious rights have been guaranteed to all alike by pronouncements of successive Nizams. Regulations governing the exercise of religious rights differ from unit to unit, and must be adjusted from time to time. But the adjustment of regulations to meet changing conditions is a matter for the people of a province or State themselves, and it must be by way of consultation with communities on whose mutual agreement permanent harmony ultimately depends. Dwellers outside the Hyderabad State, however well-meaning have not the knowledge for the task, nor, as they will not spend their lives there, the responsibility. The people of any unit in India are not only well able but alone have the right to settle their own problems in their own way. Nor can any unit suffer coercion, in whatever guise, by organisations from beyond its borders."

GLARING FACTS

Yet inspite of these glaring facts, the Arya Samajists supported by the Hindu Sabhaites were stirring up trouble in Hyderabad on the plea that they had no religious liberty. They had gone even a step further and asserted that the whole Hindu population of the State was denied the right to follow its religion peacefully! Many statements from the pens of Arya Samajists and their friends have appeared in the press which give one the impression that the Hindus of the State were all suffering from the tyranny of the Muslims. Those who have lived in Hyderabad do not need to be told that they are propaganda lies or, worse still, distorted truths. But then there are thousands of Indians who have never visited the State and whose knowledge of the conditions existing there is extremely scanty and vague. Such people are easily carried away by anything that appears in the press, and it is necessary that they should know the facts which a pseudo-nationalist and a 'fair-minded' Hindu com-

munal press is always striving to conceal behind a verbiage of theatrical indignation or trying to suppress on some plausible excuse such as 'want of space', etc.

To begin with, the population of Hyderabad State is predominantly Hindu. The Hindus constitute as much as 87 per cent. as against the 11 per cent. of the Muslims. They hold all the strategic positions in the social, economic, industrial and other spheres of life in the State. Many of them hold responsible posts under the Government.

Hindus are thriving businessmen, bankers, industrialists, financiers, and are prominent in the leading professions such as law, medicine, engineering, etc. Numbering over 12 million and being as a class agriculturists they form the bulk of the rural population and, therefore, benefit, most of all, from the benevolent measures, introduced from time to time, by the Government of the Nizam for the amelioration or improvement of the masses. Irrigation works costing over 12 crores of which Nizamsagar, the second largest dam in India, is only one, have been constructed to help chiefly the Hindu agriculturist and his family. The large sums of money spent through the co-operative societies, and the agricultural, veterinary, industries, medical, and education departments go mostly towards the welfare of the Hindu subjects of the State. Liberal remissions are granted in land revenue, amounting to about fifty lakhs annually. The village administration is almost completely in the hand of the Hindus because the village officers,—Patels, Patwaris, etc.—are almost entirely from the Hindu community while the Hindus also form the bulk of the land-owners in the State.

The percentage of the Hindus in agriculture is 87, in industry 92, in transport 96, in trade 91, and in the professions and liberal arts 84.

As regards religious institutions, there is probably no other State in India which gives such generous aid

as Hyderabad. Those who are talking of 'Hinduism in Danger' will be surprised to learn that there are 31,842 Hindu temples in the State out of which 11,355 receive grants. The annual grants given to Hindu temples through the Ecclesiastical Department is Rs. 1,12,870. This is in addition to the extensive lands and annuities yielding an annual revenue of over Rs. 3 lakhs which have been granted permanently for the upkeep of temples. To mention a few, in the city of Hyderabad, the famous temple of Sitarambagh has an annual revenue of Rs. 50,000, the Kishen Bagh temple Rs. 15,000, Jhamsingh temple and Khemdas temple each Rs. 10,000 while annual incomes of a few thousands each are enjoyed by the Gokalnath temple, Sri Prasad temple, the Shankarbagh temple, the Howkar and the Gowliguda temples. In the districts, notable examples are the Sikhar temple, Mahur Rs. 60,000, the Venalwari temple, Karimnagar Rs. 50,000 and the Eknath temple, Paithan Rs. 24,000.

Even outside the Dominions, there are several temples that receive generous grants, the principal among them being the Bhadrachallam temple receiving Rs. 19,000 annually. Hindu Pujaris are appointed to teach their co-religionists, and in addition to them, 54 Shastris and 56 Bhajan preachers receive State grants. The Jagadgurus who are the religious heads of the Hindus also enjoy liberal emoluments and preferments. And yet, the Arya Samajists and the Hindu Sabhaites would have the world believe that the Hindus are not allowed to have temples in the State, that the temples are being converted into mosques, that Hindus are forcibly converted into Muslims and are not allowed to say their prayers at home!

Had the truth been really made known, and the press in British India had taken the trouble to get to the bottom of the alleged grievances of the rank communalists of the State, the agitation would not have lasted even for a few weeks or days. As an English weekly diagnosed the trouble,

"the agitation in Hyderabad has two sides to it.

"The Arya Samajists who possess a fertile brain for raising imaginary grievances have prepared a magna charta of 14 demands and are fighting like the furies of hell to secure their acceptance.

"A handful of Congress men who have been inspired by Congress achievements in British India have begun to feel that Hyderabad is an ideal place for testing their capacity for leadership.

"Fortunately for the Arya Samajists and the Congress neophytes and unfortunately for the peace of Hyderabad, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government looks upon these trouble-makers with no more than parental sternness blended with affection.

"The Hindus of Hyderabad as every one knows form the bulk of His Exalted Highness' subjects. The ratio between Hindus and Muslims is roughly 82:12. The Muslims are in a deplorable minority but they have had no cause for centuries to have any ill-will towards the Hindus.

"As a matter of fact, the Hindus and Muslims of the State live side by side with fraternal relations, attend each other's religious functions and generally comport themselves as members of a happy family.

"Their happiness has been disturbed however in recent years by Arya Samajists from outside the State who not content with the hospitality they have so generously received now aspire to establish an Arya raj in Hyderabad and make no secret of their intentions either, as can be found from their writings and speeches.

"If the Muslims of Hyderabad were not tolerant and level-headed, and the authorities vigilant and active, the activities of the Arya Samajists would have resulted in open blood-shed.

"The demands of the Arya Samajists are frivolous, their grievances are imaginary and their methods of political propaganda undesirable and highly questionable.

"The handful of Congress men whose heads are swollen with self-glorification, evidently consider the present time the most opportune to press forward their demands for 'responsible' Government."

A VETERAN HINDU JOURNALIST'S VIEWS

"The Aryans and the Hindu Sabhaites did their best during the agitation to discredit the Government of the Nizam and even sent a memorial to the Viceroy as Crown representative praying for his intervention to secure complete freedom to propagate the tenets of the Arya Samaj by preaching, building temples, conducting schools and in all other ways, without any regulation or control by the State in the Nizam's Dominions. The 'Indian Social Reformer', an old established paper, edited by that veteran of Hindu journalists, Mr. K. Natarajan, commenting upon this memorial said in unequivocal language:

"The memorial tries hard to make out that the causes of the Hindus and of the Arya Samaj are identical, but any one who reads it can see that this is done mainly with the object of strengthening the case of the Arya Samaj. The actual position so far as the Hindus are concerned is set forth in a statement issued by the Shankaracharya of Jyotirmath, who after a tour of several districts of the State and after making personal inquiries, bears testimony to the liberal policy of the Hyderabad Government, calls attention to certain grievances due to the over-zeal of lower officials and makes constructive suggestions to prevent repetitions of them in the future. The following sentence taken from his report conveys the responsible spirit in which His Holiness has approached his difficult task. He says:

"The Nizam's Government which appears to stand alone for their own reasons in having abstained from sanctioning the free entry of Harijans and non-Hindus in the Hindu temples and bathing tirthas, prohibiting cow-slaughter during Idd festivals and the proposal for establishing schools for primary religious education both for Hindus and Mussalmans separately, under their policy of non-interference in the established customs and usages of the Sanatana Dharma, should find no difficulty in adopting suitable measures in this direction also (the reference is to his suggestion for the certification of conversion and reconversion)."

"While the Shankaracharya is confident that the needed improvements are quite possible under the existing policy of the Nizam's Government, the Arya memorial wants the intervention of the Crown representative and the rights of Paramountcy to give the Arya Samajists unrestricted freedom to carry on their propaganda in the State. The interpretation regarding religious neutrality, is far-fetched. We are surprised that, with the example of Lucknow and Cawnpore before their eyes, Sir C. Y. Chintamani and the Hon. Mr. P. N. Saprú have put their names to a demand which is especially extravagant on the part of the Arya Samaj which is largely a repudiation of the most cherished beliefs and traditions of Hinduism. We cannot imagine the Satyarth Prakash, the Bible so to speak of the Arya Samaj, not being read in religious institutions conducted by the Arya Samaj. It is a book which is full of offensive observations about Hinduism (as also of Christianity and Islam). For the Arya Samajists to claim to be leaders of Hinduism, means one of two things; that they have completely gone back on the teachings of their founder or that they are carefully keeping them in the back-ground in order to establish an ascendancy among Hindus

which they have failed to do by their religious propaganda.....The memorial claims that the number of adherents to the Arya Samaj is daily increasing and that it exerts influence over large bodies of the Hindu community outside its ranks. On the contrary, there are grounds for thinking that the Arya Samaj as a religious movement has spent itself, and that it is trying to make up for its failure by putting itself forward as the champion of Hinduism which it has failed to dislodge. In the important subject of marriage, the Arya Samaj has freely allowed polygamy which its founder denounced, and the Arya Marriage Validation Act passed two years ago has been grossly abused in several recent cases noticed in the 'Reformer'. Another feature of Hinduism against which the Swami was most violent was idol worship. Arya Samajists have put themselves forward as leaders in the temple-entry agitation and figure in this memorial as protectors of Hindu temples. The Hindu gentlemen who have attached their names to the memorial have no doubt satisfied themselves that the interests of the Arya Samajists and orthodox Hindus are the same in the Dominions; but we cannot help thinking that what the Aryas want in the name of religious freedom is virtually that the Nizam's Government should help the Arya Samaj to impose its sway over its Hindu subjects. No one who reads the criticisms of the Satyarth Prakash of Hinduism and other religions, can doubt for a moment that to allow the Aryas absolute freedom to preach and propagate it among their adherents, must lead to breaches of the peace."

PROPAGANDA STORIES

The agitation had been fed from every side, with every conceivable grievance. It had become a habit with the agitators to flood the press with various alleged sufferings of Hyderabad Hindus. The situa-

tion was charmingly described by a Bombay Weekly in the course of an editorial.

"Our most patriotic Indian press which is staking its body, life and soul on the establishment of democracy and equality for all makes again a practice of publishing whatever is sent to it by the agitators and their supporters doling out, if at all, a little niggardly space, occasionally for the views of others.

"Instead, therefore, the false and baseless accusations of the agitators being promptly refuted or contradicted, receive more credence in the public mind and kindle the flames of ill-feeling which if the truth were widely made known would be instantly put out.

"It would take too long a space to deal with every statement of the Arya Samajists and their supporters, but the one-sidedness of their attitude can be immediately realised from a few recent instances.

"Not long ago, an inquiry committee composed of two Maharashtra Hindus, Messrs. Shankarrao Deo and Patwardhan, took upon itself the task of investigating the communal incidents in Sholapur and at the end of its labours made public its report which completely absolved the Aryas. This gives one the impression that the blame for the incidents lay not on the Aryas but on the Muslims, and the two Hindus who have pronounced the judgment were the bar, bench and extra-judicial commission all rolled into one!

"Is it not really surprising that the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee, of which Messrs. Deo and Patwardhan are members, should have interested itself in the Hyderabad agitation in which it had no valid or direct interest? The report, it is announced in the papers, will not be made public butⁿ the summary of the judgment of the two self-constituted judicial commissioners has already been

widely circulated and has achieved its object of prejudicing the public mind against the Muslims.

"If the M.P.C.C. or its members, Deo and Patwardhan, had the honest intention of setting up an impartial commission, they should have secured the co-operation of two Muslim Leaguers or left the affair to the investigation and decision of two impartial Hindus and two impartial Muslims. The All-India Congress Committee or Gandhiji ought to look into this affair and take the public into confidence whether the action and attitude of the M.P.C.C. or its two members were justified.

'Next to the Sholapur Enquiry stunt comes the statement of Mr. M. S. Aney, M.L.A. (Central) which has been prominently displayed in most papers with banner headlines.

'Mr. Aney left Poona on the 11th instant learning "from a message that the health of Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar.....an undertrial prisoner in Aurangabad Central Jail, has been causing anxiety." On reaching Aurangabad Mr. Aney "soon found out that there was no cause of anxiety for the health of Mr. Bhopatkar."

"But Mr. Aney learned that the Satyagrahi prisoners were belaboured with lathis on the 7th and 8th. The jail authorities, according to him, admitted that the Satyagrahis from one camp wanted to rush to the other Satyagrahi camp because they thought that their fellow prisoners were being maltreated and that the trouble they created had to be put down with some force but that the lathi charge was a myth.

CONVENIENT FAITH

"The Arya Samajists are well-known for their aggressive attitude and though they have sanctioned their agitation by christening it as SATYAGRAHA—a principle of passive resistance which only

Gandhiji is capable of translating into action—it is quite reasonable to believe that they did not exactly behave as saints. If Mr. Aney could rely on the rumours he heard, he should have given equal credence to the assurance of the jail authorities and not rushed to the Press with a statement that was bound to leave a bitter taste behind it.

“Mr. Aney appears to be very much exercised over the sudden death of Mr. Sonhara, the Satyagrahi in the batch of Krishna Mahashaya, in jail. He considers the circumstances of the death very suspicious and the official explanation giving out high fever as the cause of death too cryptic to inspire confidence.

‘To inspire confidence in himself and the public, Mr. Aney ought to prevail upon the organisers of the Satyagraha movement to be more careful in collecting their recruits and to see that none but the very healthy were asked to court imprisonment.

‘Those who carefully go through the statement of Mr. Aney will not find it difficult to see through his mental condition. That it is prejudiced becomes at once clear from his readiness to seize upon rumours and random statements regarding the lathi charges and the reluctance to accept the official version.

“His attitude throughout the statement is that of the counsel who is trying to make a case out of the other side. He may succeed in prejudicing the public so long as the facts are not revealed. But they will not long remain in the dark even if the whole Hindu press and its allies were to close their eyes to its existence.

“While Mr. Aney’s statement is bad enough on account of its inferences and false premises, that of Mr. V. D. Savarkar, the President of the Hindu Mahasabha, is still worse.

“Mr. Savarkar, the one-time fiery nationalist who has now emerged into public life as an uncompro-

missing communalist goes one step further and asserts that "some hundred civil resisters were seriously (!) wounded. Most reputed leaders like the Hindu Sabhaite, Mr. Dhondu Mama Sathe and others, have been assaulted. . . . not only that but even after the lathi charges and locking up of the prisoners in cells, many of them were individually assaulted in their respective cells."

"If one may take the liberty of asking the question, where did Mr. Savarkar get all this precious information from? Is it all based on hearsay or the figment of a diseased imagination which cannot, like a jaundiced mind, conceive any good of its opponent?"

"Perhaps, the object of Mr. Savarkar's severe indictment is "the still more vigorous intensification of the Hindu movement to assert our birth rights in that State (Hyderabad)." And his final peroration takes the form of an emotional appeal—"Let Sanatanists, Arya Samajists, Hindu Sabhaites, Sikhs, Jains and others who constitute Hinduism as a whole march on to the front not only in hundreds as was done upto now but in -thousands to press on this civil resistance movement."

"At a time when the country is faced with a multitude of problems which need immediate solution, it is really regrettable that Hindu leaders, many of whom have identified themselves with Indian National Congress, should have been so blind as to foment trouble in a State where peace and tranquillity reign. We wish our Hindu brethren had not chosen the present moment for starting this nefarious propaganda against Hyderabad."

WHAT THE AGITATORS GAINED

The agitation, however, when the support from British India ceased, was called off by the Congress, the Hindu Sabha and the Arya Samaj one by one. What the agitators gained beyond slinging a lot of

mud on the Government of the State and on the Muslims, is known to every one. The leading article of the "Madras Mail" of 9th August 1939 published after the movement was called off is revealing in its comments on the various aspects of the agitation. The editorial reads:

"After eight months of ceaseless campaigning, during which about 10,000 satyagrahis courted imprisonment, the Aryan satyagraha in Hyderabad State has been called off. What has it accomplished that could not have been achieved by other and less vexatious methods? Has it promoted religious toleration within the State? Will some future student of India, looking back upon these times, be able to discover in this satyagraha anything more important than an ebullition of feeling for which there was little justification, and which produced no results commensurate with the sacrifices and troubles involved?

"In a communique published on July 18, the Government of Hyderabad declared that their general policy differs in no way from that followed in the rest of India, namely, "complete freedom of religious belief and observance for all without distinction, subject only to the paramount requirements of peace and order, which are themselves conditions precedent to the enjoyment of that freedom." Elsewhere in the same communique, the Government stated that: "Such regulations as exist in Hyderabad for the purpose of applying the principle are framed, not from the viewpoint of restriction of fundamental religious rights, but solely from the point of view of safeguarding public tranquillity."

"There is no Government in India, whether Party or State, which is not constrained to fulfil these obligations. In Provinces under Congress rule today, Governments are being compelled by warring religious factions to enforce regulations to safeguard public tranquillity. None accuses them of desiring

to restrict religious freedom, or to curtail a fundamental right of the subjects. Abuse of that right has compelled them to act, and Governments everywhere, whether in an Indian State like Hyderabad or in the United Provinces, must reserve the same powers, and use them when necessary. Hereafter, there will be in Hyderabad, in addition to the Hindu committee and the Muslim committee charged with watching the special interests of their respective communities, a Statutory Standing Committee which will advise on petitions to bring to notice any alleged disabilities or restrictions in the performance of worship or religious rites, whether arising out of Regulations or from their administration, and found to be of sufficient public importance to deserve the Statutory Committee's attention. In other words, there will hereafter be in Hyderabad a special protection against the illegal invasion or restriction of religious rights, and to this extent those who dwell in the State will be better protected than millions who dwell outside it.

"But this innovation is not the product of the satyagraha movement. One of the complaints made by the Government in the communique three weeks ago, is that the satyagrahis, and those who organised the movement, launched it without waiting for the new machinery which was then being designed to give every community a constitutional method of pressing its needs on the Government. The publication of the Hyderabad scheme of reforms on July 19, shows how far the designing of this new machinery had advanced when the satyagraha movement was started. It will be recalled that Mahatma Gandhi himself deemed the movement untimely, if not uncalled for in the circumstances. The manifestation of violence which accompanied it, the bombings which blackened its course, though not part of the programme of organisers, were among its products.

"Again we ask: "What has been gained that could not have been obtained by representation and negotiation?" The statement issued by the Sarvadeshik Sabha does not answer our question; it tells us that the Sabha feels justified in discontinuing the satyagraha movement; it explains that the sole motive behind the movement has been the vindication of religious and cultural freedom, and it calls upon Aryas and Hindus in the Nizam's Dominions to exercise self-restraint and to conform more strictly to truth and non-violence in a true religious spirit. But it does not tell us why the movement was started. Mr. Aney, in a message praising the Nizam's Government, declares: "It is now clearly declared that there will be no restrictions upon the rights of worship, taking out of religious processions, starting and opening places of worship, starting private schools and preaching religious sermons," but it is the Nizam's Government's case that there never have been any restrictions upon these things when doing them did not disturb public peace and order. We have seen no valid proof to the contrary in the great volume of publicity matter sent to us by the satyagraha organisers. In the future, as in the past, if it be sought to open a new mosque in dangerous proximity to an old-established temple, or, contrariwise, to build a temple in provocative nearness to an ancient mosque, the interests of public tranquillity will still require that permission be refused. So, too if any other provocative course be sought to be followed. If, however, all concerned pursue the sound counsel contained in the resolution of the Sarvadeshik Sabha and exercise self-restraint, there will be no need for official interference, no need for the application of regulations, and no need for petitions and appeals to the Statutory Committee. All will go well, because there will be tolerance on all sides. If that is the fruit of the satyagraha, it will have been worth while."

Thus did the agitation come to a miserable end. If it did not last long, it was not for want of efforts on the part of the organisers. But the facts of the situation could not be concealed for ever from the public whose support was sought to strengthen it.

CHAPTER V.

ARYA SAMAJ CLAIMS ANALYSED

The agitation in Hyderabad State, which went under different names, such as, for instance, the Arya Samaj agitation, the Hindu agitation, the State Congress and the Civil Liberties agitation, was primarily a movement started by Hindu communalists, Arya Samajists and those Hindu capitalists who sought to perpetuate the exploitation of the masses in the name of the Congress and Hindu rights.

The pretensions and claims of the State Congress were the first to be exposed, and despite the much advertised altruistic motives of its leaders, the people of the State, who had not advanced to that state of political evolution where hypocrisy and mental reservations are blended to produce a fine national potation, kept aloof and let the movement exist on the doles of innocent Hindus and artificial respiration provided by the nationalists of British India.

The Hindu Sabha spokesmen or rather the protagonists of that body in the Indian National Congress initiated the State agitation and kept it going for a time with British Indian money, British Indian volunteers, and British Indian national press propaganda.

The Arya Samajists who for years were sowing the seeds of disaffection in the State and were looking forward to a rich harvest of trouble must have welcomed the opportunity provided by the Congress and the Hindu Sabha. While the saying, popular in British India, that you prick a Congress man and find him a Hindu communalist, is true enough for all practical purposes, it applied with greater force to the conditions and circumstances of the very growth of the State Congress.

The Arya Samajists had as much cause to set up an agitation in the State as the Hindu Sabhaites of Poona. But when trouble-makers set their hearts on mischief, anything is good enough for an excuse. The reasons of the Congress and the Mahasabha have already been discussed. What were the grievances that inspired the Arya Samajists to come from the north and spread disaffection in the south?

At the beginning of this century, there were hardly any Arya Samajists in the Hyderabad State. In the census of 1911, their number was negligible. This number rose from 545 in 1921 to 3,700 in 1931. Did this growth of population indicate restrictions on the Arya Samaj activities?

THE FOURTEEN DEMANDS

The first rumblings of Arya Samaj agitation were heard at the meeting of the central organisation of the Arya Samaj, the Arya Sarvadeshik Sabha of Delhi, on 30th April 1933 when 14 demands were framed against H.E.H. the Nizam's Government. Since these demands were referred from time to time by Arya propagandists and others in their speeches and writings, and Hindus were left to draw their own conclusions from alleged and vague grievances, it would be only fair to study these fourteen demands and see how far they were justified by the facts of the situation.

The first demand was for the cancellation of Government circular No. 53 regarding public meetings. This circular stood cancelled for a long time and another was substituted in its place making it specifically clear that it will not affect religious meetings. How were the Arya Samajists interested in matters outside the religious sphere which affected neither their religion nor individual liberty?

The second demand was for the cancellation of rules of public religious performances in regard to

which the attitude of the Nizam's Government was laid in a 'firman' issued by His Exalted Highness' predecessor about 40 years ago. The first paragraph of this 'firman' reads:

"When a person, in pursuance of his faith, so acts in public as to cause offence to people of other creeds, then, in the simple interests of peace, it is the duty of every Government to stop such action as would, as a matter of fact, interfere in some manner or other, with the public peace."

It should be carefully borne in mind that this 'firman' did not arise out of any Hindu religious performance but was necessitated by a Muslim sectarian dispute over the Jaffri mosque. Its underlying idea was fully explained in a subsequent 'firman' which read as follows:

"Regard must always be had to the principle underlying my 'firman' in respect of the Jaffri mosquethe Government of a country which is inhabited by persons of heterogenous castes and creeds, must never, as a Government, decide to stop any religious performance in public unless such performance is really offensive to persons of other beliefs and is thus dangerous to maintenance of public peace. To prevent any breach of the public peace, it is the rule in this Government that any religious building or compound (such as mosque, church or other place of worship) should never be allowed to be built without the formal sanction of Government so that, before these institutions come into being, the Government may have an opportunity of considering the question of public peace and safety."

These two 'firmans' really lay down the guiding principles of the State in the matter of religious performances.

Along with these 'firmans', there is also an order issued by Maharaja Sir Kishen Prasad Bahadur, 'as

Prime Minister, on the recommendation of the Inspector-General of District Police who reported that the introduction of new religious processions in the Nizam's Dominions had caused friction in several districts leading to disturbances of public peace.

Maharaja Sir Kishen Prasad Bahadur who issued the order was himself a Hindu held in the highest esteem by his community. The order reads as follows:

"If any person or class of persons, desire as a new measure, to conduct in a public place, any religious performance which is not being done in any other place in His Highness the Nizam's Dominions, and if such performance is likely to prove offensive to any other class of persons, such new performances may, for the maintenance of the public peace, be stopped under orders....."

New performances only require sanction before they are carried out; others do not.

Moreover, in the application of the rules, no distinction is made between Hindus, Muslims or the followers of any other religion as will be seen from the fact that not many years ago, in Warangal, a Ganpati procession was allowed to pass in front of a Muslim dargah despite the protests of local Muslims whose objections were not considered strong enough to divert the route of the procession. The second grievance of the Arya Samajists, therefore, turns out to be an imaginary one.

AKHARA RULES

The third demand of the Arya Samajists was for the cancellation of the rules for the conduct of Akharas (arenas) in the Nizam's Dominions. This demand again is typical of the Arya Samaj mentality. Akhara rules about which so much fuss was made are only in the nature of precautions against Akharas,

opened avowedly for physical culture, being used as training grounds for communal fighting. The rules, incidentally, apply to all Akharas irrespective of their being run by Hindus, Muslims or any other community, and only require compulsory registration, supply of information regarding office-bearers, members, staff meetings, funds and other matters. The rules also make provision for the regular inspection of the Akharas by the First Taluqdar, Commissioner of Police and the District Superintendent of Police. If the object of Arya Samajists in opening and maintaining Akharas is a peaceful one, they have nothing to fear from the authorities. They cannot complain of partiality or communal distinction because the rules apply to the Muslim Akharas as much as to those of the Hindus.

The fourth demand is for cancellation of rules for the establishment of private schools. The rules regarding schools came into existence in 1923 when the Anglo-Vernacular mission school at Jalna flatly refused to furnish the Government with certain information asked for on the ground that it was not in receipt of any government grant-in-aid and as such was under no obligation to accede to the wishes of H. E. H. the Nizam's educational authorities. As it was likely that other private schools might adopt the same attitude and as it was of utmost importance that the Government should have full information about the different educational movements and also collect complete statistics regarding all types of educational institutions in the Dominions, rules were framed for the guidance of private institutions with a view to see them conducted in accordance with the recognised principles of education and hygiene.

The fifth demand was for enquiries into the causes of communal riots by an impartial commission. Even in British India, such commissions are not appointed except in the gravest of circumstances. The com-

munal disturbances in Hyderabad which gave rise to this demand lasted for about a week and though they had affected the whole of the city proper, only four persons were killed and 171 injured. Since there is a rigid separation of the executive from the judiciary in the State, the offences which were committed against the law were tried in the Courts of Law. The police did not open fire even once, and it was surprising that the Arya Samajists should have demanded an extra judicial commission in contempt of the existing law courts, and the public might be left to draw its own conclusions from it.

The sixth demand was regarding the prohibition of outside preachers. Originally, the restrictions on outside preachers were imposed during the Shia-Sunni tension in the State some years ago and were applicable to Muslim preachers. Since some time before the riots in Hyderabad, cases were reported of outside Hindu preachers inciting trouble, Government decided during the riots to extend the scope of its previous orders to preachers of all communities. These orders, it may be noted, apply no less to Christian than to Hindu and Muslim preachers and were subject to revision.

SAMPLES OF ARYA WRITINGS

The seventh and eighth demands referred to publications. The Arya Samaj wanted that no books should be forfeited without scrutiny and that permission should be given to start newspapers.

As a matter of fact, no books were forfeited or proscribed without the fullest scrutiny, and Government even declared its intention when proscribing such books to quote extracts to show why they were proscribed. The nature of some of the proscribed books can be gathered from the titles such as 1. Islamic Gups. 2. Quran Qabile-Etabar Nahin, 3. Shaitan aur Allah Mianki Jhadap, 4. Mussalman

Mazhabki Padtal, 5. Kahan Quran Aur Kahan Ishwar Gyan, 6. Quran Men Vaidki Tajalli. If they were not proscribed, hell's furies would have been let loose over the Dominions. As regards newspapers, a perusal of the inflammatory writings in the Arya Samaj papers would have convinced any one that the Nizam's Government did the only sensible thing by exercising its discretionary powers in the case of people who had communalistic antecedents.

Here are a few mild specimens of Arya Samaj writings.* The virulent and abusive ones are omitted for obvious reasons:

"Since their advent in India, up to the present time, the history of the Muslims is stained with Hindu blood. This action and habit of Muslims is in accordance with their religious teaching. They have done nothing strange. Their religion was propagated at the point of the sword, and through the exercise of power. The perpetration of such atrocities by the followers of a religion who are absolutely ignorant of the very conception of non-violence, and whose religion enjoins so oppressive and cruel an action as the 'Jihad' is only to be expected..... The raging flame of Islam rose from Arabia and devastated every country that came in its way. Countries like Iran, Turkistan, Afghanistan, etc. terrified by this oppression, fell into the ditch of Islam thus ruining themselves...The Muslims have ruled Islam for 700 years, during which period, they have murdered lakhs of Hindus to proselytise India." — ("Vedic Sandesh", January 2, 1938).

"And those races which now desire to trample upon and destroy us will consider it an honour to bend their knees in homage before us." — ("Masawwat," February 1938).

*From an official record published by the Nizam's Government.

"Government officers are not guardians but murderers, and are proving themselves untrue to their salt."—(The "Vaidik Pataka", 11-9-1938).

The history of some of these papers makes interesting reading and is reproduced from a Government note on the subject:

"Permission to edit the "Vedic Sandesh," an Arya Samaj newspaper, was given by His Exalted Highness' Government on the 30th August 1933 under the editorship of Chandulal, who was secretary of the Hyderabad Arya Samaj. This permission was given by the Press Commissioner, contrary to the opinion of the Director General of Police, who was of opinion that inspite of the professed religious nature of the paper, it would soon develop into a communal organ owing to the association of certain communal extremists, who were to be the 'de facto' editors of the paper, with Chandulal the nominal editor. Events proved the correctness of the Director General of Police's views, for the paper, almost from its inception, launched on a course of vilification against the administration and incitement of feelings of distrust and hatred among the two major communities of the State. As the conduct of the paper steadily deteriorated, several warnings were issued but to no purpose. The "Vedic Sandesh" was accordingly suppressed on the 28th September 1935, two months after an equally communal Muslim paper, the "Al-Azham," was suppressed. The editors of both these papers tried later to get the orders of suppression cancelled or alternatively, to get permission to start newspapers, but their antecedents and connections weighed decisively against such revision of the order or any fresh permission.

"Finding their efforts to obtain cancellation of orders or permission to start fresh communal papers in Hyderabad unavailing, the Arya Samajists turned to a neighbouring province from where to spread their

propaganda of communal hatred in the State. Thus the "Vedic Sandesh" was started in Sholapur towards the end of 1937, and the "Massawat," Feb. 1938 and the "Jhanda", July 1938 in Bombay.

"For some time His Exalted Highness' Government took no notice of these papers in the hope that, on account of their probable false and mischievous propaganda, they would either die natural deaths or be suitably penalised by the Government of the Province on account of their virulently communal policy, particularly as that Government had itself issued a communique warning newspapers against communal writings. In the meantime, in order to counteract the effects of these papers, the Muslims also started a paper, the "Urdu", from Bombay. All these papers were meant for Hyderabad, enjoyed a large circulation in the State and severally contributed towards creating inter-communal bitterness which culminated in riots in the city. Since these papers were becoming a live menace to the peace and tranquillity of the State, His Exalted Highness' Government decided to draw the attention of the Government of the Province towards the middle of 1938.

"The Bombay Government acknowledged the articles in these papers, and particularly the "Vedic Sandesh", to be such "as are calculated to create communal ill-feeling between the Hindu and Moham-medan communities." A severe warning was issued by it to the "Vedic Sandesh" and instructions appear to have been issued that a strict watch should be kept in future on the writings of these papers with a view to taking action against them if they continued to publish objectionable matter. The warning unfortunately had no effect and, ultimately, His Exalted Highness' Government, with great reluctance and after having waited for some time, decided to proscribe these papers rather than allow readers in the State to be influenced by their propaganda of hate.

"That these papers were meant wholly and solely for the State is demonstrated clearly by the fact that they closed voluntarily as soon as they were banned and substitute papers were issued in their stead. These substitutes were supplied to the subscribers of the original papers and contained the same type of literature. Thus the "Vedic Sandesh", after being banned, took on the following names:

1. Ved Prakash, 2. Vedic Pathaka, 3. Vedic Jyoti, 4. Divakar and 5. Sudhakar and the Masawat became the Veer-e-Deccan, the Fatah, Insaf, etc.

"Under the circumstances, proscription was the only way left open to the State, and it was met, as each paper was banned, by resort to substitute papers for a long list of which sanction in advance had been obtained from the Government of the Province. This was anticipated at an early stage and pointed out to the Provincial Government, and the only remedy left to the State was to proscribe, after due scrutiny of each substitute, these fresh papers as well. There is not a single political, as distinguished from communal, paper from British India or any other Indian State, which is banned entry in Hyderabad, and the Government of His Exalted Highness has been forced by the methods referred to above and by the objectionable kind of literature which has been found in these particular newspapers to bring out a series of proscriptions against them. The creation of fresh substitutes in large numbers and the flooding of the Dominions with subversive and communal literature of this kind from a neighbouring province has led to some discussion; in the mean time, the State is now obliged, in view of the necessity for constant bans as each substitute appears, to specify the names of only those papers which will in future be allowed entry into the State from the Province in question, thereby automatically excluding the rest. This action, which it is hoped, will not be required beyond

the prescribed time, stated in each future notification, has been forced on the State much against its own principles but consideration of intercommunal harmony and peace in the Dominions outweigh all others, and it is the obvious duty of the State to protect its best interests where an attempt such as this is made to subvert them."

At the time of the agitation, a new law similar to the press legislation of British India was in the making in the State, and constituted a considerable advance on the past liberty of the press. If only the agitators had cared to notice facts, they would not have had to rush to the press with imaginary grievances.

PERFORMANCE OF RELIGIOUS RITES

The ninth demand asked for liberty of performance of religious rites by the Hindus if and when the Hindu and Muslim festivals coincide. For three consecutive years, 1852, 1853, and 1854 A.D., the Daserah coincided with Mohurruni and there was an apprehension of breach of peace in the Nizam's Dominions. Since the Mohurrun days were days of mourning for Muslims, and Daserah was an occasion of rejoicing for Hindus, the Hindus were asked to perform their religious ceremonies inside their houses and not to bring out their processions with music or eclat.

That was nearly a hundred years ago. Later in 1885, again Daserah and Mohurrun coincided, and Government considered it only fair to consult the opinion of the leading Hindus. A Committee was therefore appointed with Raja Sheo Raja Bahadur, Raja Girdhari Parshad Bahadur, Mr. Raghunath Rao and one Muslim, Mr. Rasool Yar Khan as members. The committee made the following recommendations:

1. All Hindus in the city and districts should perform their religious ceremonies inside **their own** houses.
2. Those who desire to go to gardens to perform the Shilangan ceremony may do so without the

accompaniment of music or any other eclat. 3. Bhatkamma should not be taken out and Hindus should not play music even in the small 'devals' within their own houses. 4. Within large and special 'devals' which have a compound wall around, Hindus can perform their worship with ordinary music but on no account should they come out of the 'Devals.' Muslims are not to interfere with the performance of worship within the 'devals.' Any person, Hindu or Muslim, guilty of the breach of this order shall be liable to criminal prosecution."

These recommendations were accepted by Government and have been applied ever since whenever Hindu festivals coincide with Muslim festivals.

As regards the establishment of Arya Samaj 'havankunds', which constitutes the tenth demand, the position in Hyderabad is that whenever it is desired to construct a new place of worship, whether it be a temple, a mosque, a church, or a 'Havankund', if it is intended for the use of congregational prayers, and not merely for private worship, then permission of the authorities is required.

Permission is invariably granted where there are no valid objections such as danger to public peace as would arise if the proposal were to erect the religious building of one community in close juxtaposition to an existing religious building of another community. The official report of Government on this subject states that while Mahomedans, Hindus and Christians have complied with these conditions, the Arya Samajists have persistently refused to apply for permission and are constantly engaged in opening new places for public worship with the result that in most places, this has led to disturbances. Government has made it clear that it has no desire in any way to interfere or restrict public worship by any community, and its only concern is the avoidance of likely causes of breach of public peace, a duty which is all the more

necessary today in view of the pernicious communal propaganda which has of late been a common feature in Hyderabad.

“So far as the Sanatanist Hindus, Mahomedans and Christians are concerned, there has never been any trouble. As regards the Arya Samaj, Government is not concerned with and no permission is required for the erection of ‘Havankunds’ in any houses, provided that the place is only used for priate worship and no permission need be obtained in such cases. Where, however, it is desired by members of the Arya Samaj to open a ‘Havankund’ in some new locality for public and congregational prayers, the permission which has always been insisted upon must be obtained in the best interests of peace.”

IMAGINARY GRIEVANCES

The last four demands were as follows: 11. that prisoners should not be converted to Islam in jails and that Aryas should be allowed to preach there. 12. Government servants who are Aryas not to be ill-treated simply because they belong to that religion. 13. The Aryas should be allowed to hoist flags on the Arya Samaj buildings and houses. 14. Cases of Gulbarga, Nizamabad and Hyderabad to be inquired into by an impartial Commission.

The Government of the Nizam had publicly stated that no preaching of Islam to prisoners of another faith is allowed. It is a fact that four prisoners in the last seven or eight years did express their desire to embrace Islam, and their desire was sanctioned by the Director-General of Prisons after personally interviewing the persons and satisfying himself that their desire was voluntary. In order to give no ground for misrepresentation, Government recently issued orders that in future no prisoner while he is in jail should be allowed to embrace any religion other than what he professed at the time of his entry.

The twelfth demand was patently based on false allegations. Some prominent servants of His Exalted Highness' Government are known to be of the Arya Faith, but this has in no way affected their appointment or promotion in some of the most responsible services in the State.

There is no restriction on the hoisting of religious flags on the buildings used regularly for public worship. There is no practice of flying flags from private houses. The only known instance of an Arya Samaj flag being removed from a religious building occurred at Kalyani and the local officials concerned in this were warned. This proves the fimsiness of Demand number 13.

The fourteenth demand is like demand number 5, since Muslims are punished equally with the Hindus in the trying courts, and the Arya Samajists have produced no evidence to show that there was any partiality in the judicial decisions. The demands of the Arya Samajists and the facts concerning them speak for themselves. Unfortunately for Truth, a policy of 'suppressio veri, suggestio falsi' was pursued by several Arya propagandists who tried to make the Nizam's Government look as ugly as they could make it.

These fourteen demands which stand self-exposed were the cause of the agitation in the State, so far as the public was concerned. Were the demands justifiable in themselves or in the circumstances which were specially created as a back-ground and a fore-ground for them?

The trouble originated in Poona, and the alleged grievances and wrongs of the twelve millions of Hindus in the Nizam's Dominions instead of finding expression in the State itself found a champion for the cause in 'Senapati' Bapat to be followed by Maharashtrians like Mr. Yeshwantrao Joshi and Mr. V. D. Savarkar, president of the Hindu Mahasabha.

MR. SAVARKAR'S APPEAL

The Civil Resistance Movement came into being actively on October 22, 1938 in Hyderabad and was supported by the Arya Agitation which followed soon after. On November 30, Mr. V. D. Savarkar contributed to the "Hindu Outlook," "a summary of the events that led to the movement." In this summary, one will find extravagant allegations against the Nizam's Government and the Muslims of the State. Mr. Savarkar wrote:

"The most fanatical and outrageous treatment to which the Hindus have been for years subjected in the Nizam's State, with a definite policy of extirpating them as a religious, cultural and political entity and turning the State entirely into a Moslem one is so well-known as to render any more proof is as ridiculous an excess as to try to show by candle what is obvious in broad day-light.

"The credit of drawing pointed attention to this ill-treatment of the Hindus before any one else did it, and coming forward to oppose it with tooth and nail must go to the Arya Samajist section of the Hindus in the State. Hundreds of them have gone to jail, have been harrassed by the Muslim gundas and the Moslem police as well—in this year alone, a dozen of them have been murdered in cold blood by Moslem mobs while the Moslem culprits as a rule escaped scot-free.

"In the meanwhile, every dawning day brought news of Muslim riots, assaults, looting of Hindu bazaars, murder of Hindu leaders, dishonouring, kidnapping, harassing of Hindu women, forced conversion of hundreds of Hindus to Islam. The whole atmosphere was rent with the shrieks of the tyrannised Hindus in the Moslem State.

"It should be noted that throughout these years and inspite of the fact that the story of this unbearable barbarous and fanatical persecution of

the Hindus in the Nizam State had been perturbing and agitating the public mind all over India, the Indian National Congress did not so much as raise its little finger in protesting against this Moslem tyranny.

"Thus the struggle is thickening on all sides, and after the All-India Arya Samaj rally at Sholapur and the annual Hindu Mahasabha session at Nagpur, both to be held during the next Christmas week, the struggle is almost certain to spread all over the country and the Hindu Sangathanists throughout India presenting a Pan-Hindu front and under a Pan-Hindu banner will march on to liberate their co-religionists and countrymen held under bondage in the Nizam State."

It should be particularly noted that there were no specific grievances mentioned. Assaults, looting and riots were interpolated in sentences with a supreme contempt for truth and in complete disregard of ordinary canons of decency, fairness or justice. When there are communal riots,—and these are bound to occur as long as men of Mr. Savarkar's type are there to kindle communal hatred and rouse communal passions—there are sure to be indiscriminate murders and acts of lawlessness. A riot in Hyderabad is as serious and as much to be condemned as a riot in Bombay, Cawnpore or any other British Indian city. It is primarily and conclusively the fault of communal leaders who deliberately and systematically work on human passions and religious sentiments of particular communities to gain their political objectives.

Did this patriotic leader seek the proof of 'the murders in cold blood,' 'forced conversion of hundreds of Hindus,' 'the dishonouring, kidnapping and harassing of Hindu women' before appealing to the pan-Hindu sentiments of the Hindu masses? Did he expect any one seriously to believe that the Hindus of the State, who constitute 86 per cent of the total popula-

tion were incapable of defending themselves, their women-folk or their honour? The position of the Hindus in the Nizam's Dominions is best explained by a statement issued by the late Maharaja Sir Kishen Prasad Bahadur at the beginning of the agitation. It said:

SIR KISHEN PRASAD'S TESTIMONY

'It hardly needs to be emphasised that the political unrest in Hyderabad is but an echo of the troubles occurring outside the State and having their roots in political awakening. Owing, however, to blind communalism, this political consciousness has gradually drifted into mischief-mongering and become so changed in character as to become a problem for Governments, a curse for the people and a constant danger to their lives. The true well-wishers of the country have been plunged in grief at seeing these unhappy occurrences.

"Fundamentally, our country has never been concerned with these troubles nor has it any real concern with them now. Hyderabad has always been free from such bickerings, for the inhabitants of this country, whether Hindu or Muslim, Parsi or Christian, have always had feelings of brotherly regard for each other and malice or rancour has never found place in their hearts.

"My forefathers dwelt in security in this land, and I myself have lived here for seventy-five years, in ease and comfort, with honour and respect and I thank God that, inspite of these imported quarrels, the larger part of the people of this country have preserved their traditional friendly relations.

"The Deccan has been under the suzerainty of Muslim kings for several centuries. But can any one question the justice of the Adilshahis?

The title Bahamani testifies to the tolerance of the Barid Shahis and the vast power wielded by Akannah and Madannah during the Qutubshahi period is proverbial. The same tolerance and benevolence is true of the Asafjahi dynasty under whose sway various communities live in freedom and peace all over the Dominions.

“Is there any one who, being acquainted with the traditional tolerance of the Asafjahis, can assert that the laws of their Government have been framed on a communal basis? I ask the people of this country, what are your grievances? Are your jagirs being confiscated? Are you forcibly being deprived of your properties? Is there any discrimination in the field of education? Are there any conditions imposed on your places of worship? Are there any specific obstacles in the way of your recruitment to the services? Or is there any fear of dishonour? In short, I ask the followers of Hinduism to tell me which of their grievances it is that Government does not remedy or the Ruler does not consider? If there is any individual or group of persons which has any complaint to make let them first come and tell me about it; let me at least hear of their distress or the tale of their sufferings. Should I consider the grievances reasonable and free from the least taint of communalism, I shall personally present the facts of the case to my master and shall endeavour to the uttermost of my ability and strength to remedy their legitimate and just grievances.

“It is with the greatest pain that I have, in this connection, to lay the blame for the present unrest in Hyderabad at the door of those who profess to follow the Vedas and yet blacken the name of Hinduism; whose social customs more or

less resemble those of the Hindus but whose religious innovations have become a curse to wider humanity. How can these people appraise the worth of the venerable prophets who preached the gospels of Islam and Christianity to the world, whose contribution to humanity can hardly be gauged and who made human beings of men? They do not stop here but go further and do not hesitate to slander even the great avatars of Hinduism. I ask you how can a Sanatan Dharmi tolerate it when an Arya Samaji speaks disrespectfully of Lord Krishna, or presenting a distorted picture of his life levels obscene and false charges against him? Consider coolly what your reaction would have been if these words had been spoken by a Muslim? What a tragedy it is for our national pride that we can listen, albeit with disgust, to these nonsensical lies.

"Because I am a Hindu, the successor of the late Maharaja Chandu Lall, and a Sanatan Dharmi, I am covered with shame when I find that even some of the Sanatan Dharmis, misled by these fanatics, who deny the basic principles of Hinduism, are secret supporters of this vile propaganda.

"They listen to everything said against their avatars and instead of contradicting the falsehoods become engulfed in the Arya Samaj views. They do not realise that the Hindus and the Moslems are the two arms of these Dominions and can never quarrel between themselves. The people of the Deccan are well aware of the innumerable concessions that have been granted by the Asaf-jahis to all Hindu families here whether great or small, and the favours bestowed on individuals. It is for these very reasons that there has never been any communal unrest during the centuries of their rule nor have such turbulent demonstrations asking for rights been staged before.

CHALLENGE TO OUTSIDERS

"People from across our borders will have us believe that we are leading lives of misery and degradation. When I read statements published in outside newspapers that the Hindus are badly treated here, that they are not allowed to ride on horse-back nor to wear white clothes and that they are not free to exercise their religion I can, with difficulty, restrain my laughter at these palpable falsehoods. Let the Khadi-clad people from outside come in person and see the snowy whiteness of our clothes; they will not find better motor cars than the ones we ride in any where else, and they will not find anywhere the equality of treatment accorded to us here. The doors of our temples, which always stand open for worship, and the Jagirs whose incomes run into lakhs of rupees, which have been granted to our temples by our kings, testify to the religious freedom that we enjoy. The Moslems participate with brotherly love in purely Hindu ceremonies such as jatras, etc. and join our Rath processions.

"Though there should have been no need for me to repeat these facts, I have thought it necessary that this should be done from the mouth and the pen of a Hindu in order to remove the misapprehensions which may arise on account of the mischievous statements of outsiders who deliberately ignore facts. I am not addressing myself to those who have come from outside merely to sow the seeds of dissensions among the peaceful citizens of the State by their false and baseless propaganda nor to those who traduce the good name of our beloved and popular king who cannot bear to see an animal leave alone a human being in pain; a ruler who takes a wounded goat in his own car to be treated, who cannot bear the idea of cow-slaughter or camel sacrifice, who has

a lame cat treated in his own hospital and appoints a daily ration of bread and milk for it.

"Some of the more simple-minded of my country men, though aware of the existing conditions, are affected by the false statements of the Arya Samajists. We should realise that outsiders can have no concern with our affairs and that they cannot possess, even in dreams, what we hold in reality. Therefore, if believing these lies is not madness, it is due at least to defective thinking, and it is our primary duty to remedy this. We should focus our attention on the evils that will immediately arise from communalism and prevent the arrival of the moment when nothing but vain regret for our past conduct shall be left to us and our confused brain shall be incapable of guiding us.

"By birth and by breeding, I am a Hindu and yet, in this very State, I have been granted all those privileges which exist in this Islamic State alone. Believe me when I say that the favours and concessions that have been showered on me and my Hindu family are such as to excite the envy of even the great Muslim nobles of the State; but this is nothing new, for the Asafjahi dynasty has, for all time, been unique in its tolerance and benevolence. Those who know Hyderabad know that where the families of Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur, Nawab Khane-Khanan, Nawab Fakrul-Mulk live in traditions of nobility, there the Khshatri Kishen Prasad, the Brahmin, Rai-e-Rayan and the Kayasth Shivraj and a host of other such families reside in the same traditions of nobility. In addition to these, the holders of Samasthans, who in reality can be called the rulers of small states, live in freedom and ease all over His Exalted Highness' Dominions.

DANGEROUS PROPAGANDA

"In fine, such hatred-exciting propaganda can find no place in these Dominions where the Government is our Government. It cannot be compared to the so-called Democratic Government which teaches law-breaking, involves innocent creatures of God in ruin, satisfies its lust for ruling, in the destruction of humanity, and which inflames ignorant masses and sows in their minds the seeds of hatred. Such a Government can never be compared to nor can it ever understand the distinguishing features of our Government. We have lived for centuries in comfort, and ease under the Asafjahi kings and are so intimately linked with our Moslem brethren that Hyderabad defies comparison with any other part of India.

"We should ponder not only on the present day conditions but take stock also of the past period of tranquillity and peace and see that we have lagged no whit behind our neighbours. It is incumbent on us, therefore, to prevent the entry of the Arya Samajists into the State and to turn a deaf ear to their rantings. We should proclaim from the house-tops that we are quite capable of defending our own rights and will at no time require their assistance. Let them raise storms in the Ravi, but they shall never create a cleavage in the Esi and Musi!

"Our so-called slavery is better far than their dangerous liberty. If our condition is described as slavery by outsiders, I would say I am prepared to sacrifice a thousand liberties for this slavery; nay, I would go so far as to say that if this is bondage, then the world has never really grasped the idea of true freedom. The time has now come when all the inhabitants and well-wishers of the State should take the Firman-e-Mubarak

issued on 15th February 1939 as their guide and should unite and destroy those evil influences which are proving harmful to the country's internal peace. Do they not know that satyagraha has been resorted to needlessly? Do they not see that bombs are being placed in public roads to kill innocent and unwary people? Is there still anyone who is ignorant of the fact that poison is being mixed in food and drink so that the guileless consumer is rendered unconscious for days or even loses his life? Over and above this, threats are being received that they will cause further disturbances of the peace in the State, pamphlets follow each other in quick succession, notices are being issued, posters are being posted everywhere and no post is free from type-written anonymous letters. What after all is the meaning of this sudden Arya Samaj sympathy for us? We do not wish to obtain any rights for ourselves with the help of their filthy propaganda—and what are those rights which are now denied to us? Agriculture is ours, trade and commerce belong to us, banking is done by the Hindus. Patels and Patwaris, Deshmukhs and Deshpandes and Watandars, all are Hindus. Which phase of life is there of which we are not masters? And if we should want any further privileges, we shall ask them of him who has until now given us so much without the asking and with such liberality. We do not wish to be obliged to outsiders nor are we dependent on them for aid.

“Brother Hindus, have you learnt no lesson from the Dhulpet disturbance? Defective religious training produces intolerance—and intolerance is the prelude to a nation's destruction. If you adopt a ‘Hindu’ view-point to see everything, then the best of things will seem of no worth to you; but if you look at it from an unbiassed point

of view, I am certain you will bow your heads in shame, for the Government has never, by any of its actions, made us feel that we are ruled by one who is not of us."

AGITATION IN PRESS

But this counsel of wisdom, this exposure of manufactured grievances and false propaganda was not allowed to reach those Hindu masses in British India who were being fed on subtle lies, on communal incitements and distortion of truth, and who in the excitement of the moment contributed to the funds of the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Sabha campaign of vilification.

The propaganda was carried on by men who led certain sections of the Hindu community. Bhai Parmanand, for instance, wrote in the "Hindu Outlook" of November 30, 1938:

"The Hindu sufferings in Hyderabad know no bounds. Within the State no new temple can be built, nor can any old one be repaired. From this, the intention of the Government to kill all religious life among the Hindus is manifest.

"The Arya Samajists cannot make Havankunds, (the pits for sacrificial fire), even in their houses and perform their worship. This policy of the State has created among the Muslim populace violent feelings of antipathy against the Arya Samajists. The result has been that during the last year, three young Arya Samajists have been murdered in cold blood by fanatical Muslim mobs. Before they were put to death, they were plainly told that their death was the retribution for their work for the Samaj. They were offered the alternative of death or Islam and they chose the former"

To understand the spirit which was behind these allegations, one has to go into their history and events complained of in their chronological order.

On March 17, 1937, Bhai Parmanand had an interview with the President of the Nizam's Executive Council and cited three specific cases. These cases concerned (1) the incidents at Nizamabad regarding which it was alleged that the arrested persons being Hindus were not taken before the District Judge because he was a Hindu, but before the Taluqdar because he was a Muslim. (2) The disturbance in Chakur in the Bidar District in which three Hindus were said to be beaten by the Muslims and (3) the events in Gulbarga regarding which a certain barrister in Hyderabad had received an anonymous telegram stating that the Khaksars had vowed to kill thousands of Hindus and that it was a very dangerous time.

Fullest inquiries were made by the Government and a communique issued which stated that as regards the first grievance, the first and second taluqdar were required to deal with cases under the preventive section of the Penal Code and the High Court had stressed that these powers were to be exercised by them. Considerations of religion had not influenced the case and upon its being referred to the High Court, it was heard by a Hindu. As regards Chakur, Mr. Hollins, the Director-General of Police, had reported that the disturbance had been caused by Holi revellers singing obscene songs and throwing coloured waters on the Muslims. The incident had been greatly exaggerated and no serious damage had occurred. Concerning the Gulbarga incident, the facts as reported by the Director-General of Police are:

"Certain Hindu revellers threw coloured water on a tonga containing three Mahomedans on 16th March. One of these alighted from the tonga and protested, whereupon he was surrounded by a number of Hindus, including several members of the Arya Samaj and was stabbed with a spear, and died ~~from the~~ wounds the same day. There is no truth in the

remarks that the Khaksars assembled in great numbers and threatened the Hindus."

"If the situation had not been tactfully handled by the local authorities, the responsibilities for any rioting which might have been reasonably expected to occur would have rested on those who had offered provocation and caused the murder of a Muslim."

Is it not surprising that Bhai Parmanand while in the State did not collect these facts for himself? He did not wait for an inquiry but contributed an article to the "Hindu" of Lahore of March 22, 1938 wherein he alleged "that the State spends money on conversions to Islam both beyond and inside its borders"—a statement which had no foundation in fact. Replying to this, the Government said in the course of a communique:

"There exists in the State perfect liberty for every religion to proselytise while strict orders prevent Government servants, no matter of what religion, from participating in conversion."

But Bhai Parmanand did not appear to be keen on gathering facts. He was out to create an atmosphere of ill-will against the Muslims and the Government of the State. The United Press, a news-service organisation, issued to the Indian papers a statement purporting to have come from Bhai Parmanand on 29th March in which this leader of the Hindus alleged that the Hindus in the State are not allowed to ride a horse, only Muslims being allowed to do so, that Hindus have not the right of free worship, that they are not permitted to wear any white dress, and that they have to pay Jazia.

The Nizam's Government referred to these charges in a communique and said that they were one and all so unfounded and even ridiculous that millions of its Hindu subjects would be able to come forward to testify to their utter falseness. Upon this, Bhai Parmanand came out with an explanation "that it

was a strange mistake of the print or the typist that the phrase was any how omitted which indicated that these grievances of the Hindus existed at the time of the Moghul rule."

The United Press did send out a correction but long after the mischief was done. The admission of the editor of the United Press is also illuminating. In a letter to the Hyderabad Government he wrote:

"I am surprised to learn that you should have been informed that the misstatements contained in Bhai Parmanand's press statement under reference were due to the mistake of the news agency.

"We had nothing to do with the statement except to distribute the same like a post office. Indeed, the statement circulated by us was exactly what we got from Bhai Parmanand without any interpolation of ours."

TYPICAL PROPAGANDIST STORIES

A typical example of the manner in which every incident involving Hindus and Muslims was painted in lurid communal colours was afforded by the riots which occurred in Ganjoti in December 1937. The riot had its origin in a drunken brawl which developed into a criminal affray and resulted in injuries to a number of persons involved in it and death to one of them named Dasmayya.

Dasmayya's death gave an opportunity to the Arya Samajists to carry on an intensive propaganda against the Muslims. The deceased was posthumously christened Ved Prakash (the light of the Vedas) and it was given out that he had met with a martyr's death in refusing to embrace Islam. A searching investigation by an experienced Hindu Deputy Director General of Police failed to produce any evidence in support of the theory, but the Arya Samajists were not to be deprived of their chance. They let their

imagination loose, waxed eloquent on the incident and with language which would have admirably fitted into an emotional dramatic piece on the stage rather than an unfortunate but sordid episode. The nature of the Arya Samaji treatment of this subject is afforded by an article in the "Vedic Sandesh" of April 3, which translated reads as follows:

"The sages have said 'life itself brings life.' The Hindu community of the Nizam's State was dead. It required life. Ved Prakash understood this point and to infuse life in the dead body of the community offered the sacrifice of his life and once again gave this message to the world:

'They are dead but they have earned world-wide fame; life is meant for going and death is certain.'

"Shri Ved Prakash came from a small village and was not highly educated. But his heart was full of love, faith and respect for the Vedic Dharma. His heart was illuminated by the light of the Veda. He had faith in God and he believed the Veda to be a heavenly book. He believed that the Vedic Dharma was spreading the message of this book in the world. With these thoughts in mind, he started preaching the Vedic Dharma in Ganjoti. By this the religion of the Muslims of that place encountered utter defeat and they became enemies of Ved Prakash. But Ved Prakash was brave. He had not a bit of fear. He continued his work. One day, the oppressor found an opportunity. They caught Ved Prakash and after throwing him down and placing a knife on his throat said to him: 'If you want to live accept Islam.' What a strange alternative. What an anxious moment and what a dreadful scene. It was a conflict between life and death. On one side was life and love for relatives and worldly happiness, and on the other was the knife of the oppressor on the throat and the terror of death. On one side were flowers and on the other side thorns and the bed of

thorns. The worldly desires are saying: "Ved Prakash, accept Islam, but the dearer than life Vedic Dharma, young Hakikat and Murti Manohar were standing at his back reciting a Sanskrit poem. At last Dharma came out victorious. The blood of the brave infused Ved Prakash with passion, bravery and fearlessness and Ved Prakash smiled and said: I am prepared to die but cannot leave my Vedic Dharma.'

"No sooner were these words uttered than the knife cut through the throat of Ved Prakash, blood began to flow and his soul fled away leaving this message for young Aryas: If one calamity comes after another, let it come. The desire to face the contrary wind should always surge in me, truth has taught me this lesson. If life goes for the sake of religion, let it go."

The same technique was employed in the case of another unfortunate incident which occurred at Kalyani on 28th June 1938 resulting in the death of a man called Nagappa, who was latterly called Dharma Prakash by the Arya Samajists. Evidence in the court later revealed that there was personal enmity between the deceased and a man named Syed Omar. The report of Mr. Hollins, Director-General of Police, on this subject says:

"I alluded to the facts of the case which were that animosity had existed between Syed Omar and Nagappa for a number of years. As far back as 1932, Syed Omar and Nagappa took part in a small riot that occurred at Kalyani and they singled each other out for attack in the course of the riot. Three days before the murder, Syed Omar and Nagappa met in Kalyani town and indulged in mutual recrimination and abuse."

One Arya Samaj organ even went so far as to publish the photographs of the dead bodies in its issues of 3rd April and 24th July 1938 with captions

saying that these people had been murdered because they had refused to be converted to Islam.

ARYA-HINDU SABHA CO-OPERATION

With these communal rantings forming the background of the agitations one comes nearer to the psychology underlying the movement. While the Arya Samajists were preparing the Hindu mind for their final dramatic denouement, the Hindu Sabhaites were working towards it from another direction. On 22nd July 1938, Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, wrote to Mr. Ghanashyamsingh Gupta, M.L.A., Speaker, C.P. Assembly, informing him that Mr. Chandavji, Secretary of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Delhi, had come with the special purpose of discussing with him the outline of the movement—"defence of our co-religionists of the Hyderabad state."

"I thank you," he added, "most heartily for the bold lead you have given to the Arya Samaj as its president. The Hindu Sabha is also trying its best to support our brethren in the Nizam's State. It will be better if all Hindus put forward Hindu resistance as legitimate as determined to the unbearable oppression to which the Hindus of the State are subjected.

"At the time of the coming Arya Samelan at Sholapur, all leaders of Hindudom throughout India should be invited to be present. The Hindu Maha Sabha leaders will of course make it a point to attend the Arya Samelan so that the Samelan though led by our Arya Samajists in particular may serve as an occasion for pan-Hindu demonstrations."

Mr. Savarkar's suggestion was that the annual session of the Arya Samaj at Sholapur and of the Hindu Sabha at Nagpur should be held in Christmas vacation in order to enable the representatives from the north to proceed from Sholapur as soon as the

Arya Samelan was over. The Hindu Maha Sabha session was to adopt the Sholapur resolution. A protest was to be organised all over India with a common programme of Hartal, black-flag processions, meetings and resolutions backing up the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Maha Sabha resolutions on the subject. The letter of Mr. Savarkar continued:

"The resolution passed at the Arya Session should be worded in such a way as to cover the grievances of the Hindus in the State in general and the Arya Samajists in particular. But they should not refer to Arya Samajists alone and exclusively so that the Arya Samaj should as ever only take up the position of the Defender of Hinduism as a whole and not only a sectarian champion.

"We should demand the removal of all grievances, cultural, linguistic and social as well as the religious which the Hindus as a race are subjected to in the Nizam State. For example, we should demand in addition to the removal of restrictions on the Havan-kunds and other religious practices, that the language of the Hindus—Marathi, Canarese, Telugu,—must not be boycotted in those particular parts in schools, courts, correspondence and that Urdu must not be thrust but should be optional in all these departments of public life. The Nagari script also must be allowed as an optional state script in courts and other places.

"You must be aware of the fact that a fund for the distressed Hindus in the Nizam State has been opened by the Hindu Mahasabha in Maharashtra. Hundreds of meetings are being held by the Hindu Sabhas throughout Maharashtra as well as in India. The Sanatanist papers are daily coming out with articles arousing the Hindu people to their duty they owe to our brothers in the Nizam State."

With this forced propaganda and the bringing into action of the two organised forces of British India—namely, the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Mahasabha—was the Hyderabad agitation launched, not by the Hindus of the State who were supposed to be the victims of tyranny but by a band of hirelings, misguided boys, and an assortment of people thrown into the campaign with all kinds of specious excuses.

EVIDENCE OF SATYAGRAHIS

The satyagrahis, in their statements and apologies, voluntarily given, have brought to light the most objectionable feature of a mass movement based on patent falsehoods, and an artificially generated religious inspiration.

Nearly a hundred satyagrahis did not know what satyagraha was. They had not the foggiest idea of its aims, objects or implications. They offered satyagraha because of misapprehension, misdirection, seduction, false pretences, deception, fraudulent representation, and imposition.

Many did not come for the purpose of satyagraha. They were told that they would be doing religious propaganda as missionaries do and joined the batches of satyagrahis. Some came because they were in search of a job, and were promised one. Going to jail was not their idea of a job, and they wanted to be let out as innocent offenders.

A very large number of the satyagrahis were frank about their positions. They were promised leisure, and fun, good food in jails, toast and milk, free travelling and money. One of the victims naively said: "the Nawab Saheb at Hyderabad will provide cooked food, fruits and Ganges water; he is very wealthy." They were to live in a lovely garden with trees laden with fruit, a stream for swimming and every comfort provided for.

Those who actually came to be arrested were carried away by fiery speeches. They were told that Hindus were oppressed in Hyderabad; that Havan-kunds, prayers, and temple worship were forbidden; that Hindus were converted to Islam in jails and outside and that temples were demolished and mosques built on their sites. They were excited by the false news that even the names of saints and swamis were not allowed to be mentioned in Hyderabad.

These misguided zealots were surprised at the sight of the regular performances of Havan and Sandhya even in the jails. Escorted by officials, they went all over the city and saw Hindus happily busy with their religious observances and were satisfied. They could not help believing the evidence before them, offered apologies for their conduct and were released.

There cannot be a better testimony of the conditions in the State than that provided by the Satyagrahis themselves. After being released, some of them toured over the Dominions to find out the truth for themselves, and vouched for the fact that there was no aggression or injustice against the Hindus, that there were no obstacles against their religious performances, and did not hear in jail or outside anybody, Mussalman or Government official, forbidding temple worship as widely advertised by the Arya Samajist and the Hindu Sabha leaders. They had seen their "Om" flags flying from house-tops and the spires of temples.

Typical satyagrahis were old men on the verge of death, men with poor physique, suffering from diseases, boys who were encouraged to run away from home and who had to be claimed by their irate parents after tendering apologies in court.

Some of the Satyagrahi apologies show how much the new converts to Arya Samaj knew about the religion they were professing. Gopalsingh, son

of Dasrath Singh, caste Rajput, age 18 years, resident of Nanded stated:

"Swearing by Hanuman, I submit that I am Arya. I do not believe in Hinduism though everybody in my house believes therein. Aryas swear by Om. I also herewith swear by Om, and say that whatever I shall say I shall speak the truth. People told me that there was tyranny and asked me to offer satyagraha. So I came. Shyamlal Bahamwala who lives in Nanded told me to offer satyagraha, so I did. My parents stopped me from coming here but I came—I was misled by Sonaji Dhundi and Shyamlal."

Three Sikhs of the Sasas Dharmi section of the community who said they were 'not even remotely connected with the Arya Samaj,' joined the satyagraha because

"The Arya Samajis wrongly assured us that the Sikh Gurudwara situate in Hyderabad was demolished and the temple of the Nishan Dharmis too was being demolished, and also that worship therein was not allowed. When we came here, we ourselves met with no restrictions in the jail. There is general permission for the temple worship. On our way, we saw temples in every village. We find no necessity to offer satyagraha when there is utmost liberty."

SATYAGRAHI LEADER SHOCKED

Mangal Prasad Sanyasi, a Jatha leader of Rawalpindi, shocked at the high-handedness of the satyagrahis and their violent ways, and finding that there was the fullest liberty of religious performance even in jails offered an apology for his satyagraha. The Sanyasi was himself assaulted by the Arya Samajists in Jail because he did not come up to their expectation of unscrupulousness and felt no wonder that "they were out to fight among themselves, against the warders and other jail employees."

While this Jatha leader was in jail, one of the Satyagrahis died in hospital. And his personal impressions of the event throw light on the allegations made frequently against the authorities. He says: "All the jail officials took the keenest interest in and attended to the various details of his burning. The Superintendent and the District Magistrate participated in the ceremony. The jail officials' treatment of us was really commendable."

The "Civil and Military Gazette", commenting on the nature of the satyagraha, published the following:

"It is regrettable that in this campaign against Hyderabad, Mahasabhaites and Aryan leaders have stooped to mean and despicable tactics. They have lent their support to lies, misrepresentations and exaggerations. They have indulged in abuse and inflammatory condemnation. They have mobilised forces comprised of dupes and hirelings. Hundreds of satyagrahis have been arrested at Gulbarga, Raichur and Aurangabad who subsequently tendered abject apologies declaring that they were decoyed by false pretences and deluded by false promises. Scores of youths ranging between twelve to eighteen years have joined the movement unconscious of its purport or its implication."

The "Pioneer" stated:

'It is precisely on a cry of Hinduism in danger that Mr. Savarkar has been able to organise the Arya Samajist agitation against the Nizam's Government.'

It was a paradoxical explanation inasmuch as the Hindu Sabha and the Arya Samaj were two separate organisations with different objectives, but as has been amply proved both had actively co-operated and planned the State agitation mobilising in the process all the forces of evil.

However, if one were to judge the Arya Samaj by its objectives, both declared and pursued in Hyderabad,

one would find, not on the evidence provided by the Government but on the uninfluenced testimony of acknowledged champions and leaders of Hinduism that the whole movement was engineered from outside with objects which were far from being creditable to the avowed cause.

His Holiness Shankaracharya had emphatically refused 'to attribute to H.E.H. the Nizam's Government, as the reports would have it, any overt acts of conversion in jails, etc.' His Holiness was satisfied that 'Government have not been slow in granting redress.'

The Shankaracharya had toured the Dominions and even visited wayside villages but had not come across any cases of defilement of temples or religious institutions as was alleged.

The special correspondent of the "Pioneer" diagnosed the trouble in the following clear words in the course of his news letter:

"The Arya Samajist agitation in Hyderabad State is ostensibly aimed at securing the removal of certain alleged restrictions on the religious rights and privileges of the Nizam's Hindu subjects. But a closer study of it will show that the movement is really a political one to which a religious colouring has been given."

The Hyderabad Government was however not the only one to have to complain of the Arya Samaj tactics. The District Magistrate of Sholapur admitted in a press communique on May 24, 1939 that

"since a group of 40 to 50 Arya Samaj volunteers was to blame for the rioting on the evening of May 21 it was considered essential for the public peace to remove them from the district."

Impartial observers had discovered, long before the movement exploded as a pricked bubble, that the accusations which were made by the Arya Samaj

agitators against the State authorities, from time to time, were found on subsequent investigation to be either totally unfounded or grossly exaggerated.

THE LAST MOVE

When every move failed, and all the demands of the Arya Samaj proved to be based on flimsy arguments and extravagant inferences if not deliberate lies, the agitators resorted to one last desperate strategy to malign the Government at any cost and rouse public opprobrium for it. The method adopted was unfair and unwarranted, and was indicative of the real state of the prime movers' minds. A memorial was sent to the Viceroy as Crown Representative demanding the exercise of his special prerogatives. Questions were asked in Parliament, and the Secretary of State was appealed to. And the principal ground for complaint was the treatment of satyagrahis in jails.

The Hindu press took up the subject and waxed eloquent on the "murders" of satyagrahis in jails. They thundered about the alleged ill-treatment of the prisoners, and demanded an inquiry. They did not pause to investigate the facts about the deaths. When satyagrahis were recruited any how, anywhere, without any consideration of age or physical condition, deaths in the ranks were bound to occur. Even in British Indian jails, during the popular regime of the Congress, death did not spare the inmates of jails. But the Arya Samajists and their Hindu friends were out to drag the Nizam's Government into the mud, and if they failed, it was not for want of strenuous efforts.

To understand the real position, one need not seek facts in the Government communiques. Dr. Moonje's letter to Sir Akbar Hydari dated March 20, 1939 is sufficiently illuminating. The doctor who is no partisan of the Muslims or Hyderabad Government

wrote to say that "the prisoners in the Nizam's jails are happy and have no complaints. The jail is well kept, neat and clean."

Pandit Narayan Swami, Hyderabad Congress leader, in the course of a statement said: "I never heard any complaint about beating or ill-treatment of satyagrahis by the jail authorities. Such rumours are totally unfounded."

Two other leaders of the State Congress, Messrs. N. A. Rao and R. G. Nandapurkar admitted that "the rumours that satyagrahis in this jail are being beaten and receiving barbarous treatment at the hands of the jail staff are quite false."

The Secretary of State for India who had evidently collected all the information on the subject felt that he had no reason to think that the treatment of prisoners was open to criticism.

In the face of the devastating evidence against the Arya Samajist methods, it was not to be wondered at that the vast consensus of independent opinion both in this country and abroad should exonerate the Government of His Exalted Highness and thus by its open disapproval of the agitation bring about its end.

Though the Hindu communal press went on manufacturing Dutch spirit for the benefit of the agitators, the agitation could not be kept on pure lies. The end came at last on 20th July 1939 when the Arya Samaj finally called off the movement. Thus did the struggle for so-called religious rights and privileges end on a note of Machiavelian politics.

CHAPTER VI.

THE HINDUS OF HYDERABAD

AFTER reading a long list of alleged grievances of the Hindus of Hyderabad, the innocent outsider often wonders how a despotic administration can continue, for any length of time, without an internal revolution. For those who have followed the insidious propaganda of the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Mahasabha with supporting editorial commentaries by the "Nationalist" press and Indian Congress leaders, the wonder is heightened still more by the curious disclosure, brought to light by natural circumstances, of how the agitation in the State, initiated in Poona and inspired by Maharashtra Hindu leaders, could not sustain the combined efforts of the Arya Samaj, the State Congress, the Hindu Mahasabha and the British Indian advocates of pan-Hinduism.

The agitators had practically the whole of the British Indian press, controlled or guided by Hindus, in their favour. Even the Indian National Congress, while publicly dissociating from the movement, gave its blessings to it through leaders like Shankar Rao Deo and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Collection of funds was made in British India. Volunteers were raised in the Punjab, U.P., Central Provinces, Karnataka and Maharashtra. What did the 'oppressed' and 'repressed' Hindus of the State do for themselves? It was strange indeed that a community, more than twelve million strong, said to be groaning under religious, civil, economic and other disabilities, could contain itself and look passively on as disinterested spectators, while its 'sympathisers' were raising a hornet's nest in its midst!

Months after the agitation had begun with a fanfare of Hindu communal trumpeting, hardly two thousand persons, and these associated in one form

or another with the rank communal activities of the State, or cajoled or persuaded into the movement, were found ready to court arrest. It was not a convincing agitation, but it made up in noise and cheap trickery what it lacked in spirit and intellectual conviction. The State has not improved by the agitation. The reforms were decided upon long before it started. And the civil and religious liberties which are found in the State today, were there all the time to be appreciated by a sober and grateful public.

However, since the agitation was started, and a number of allegations made against the State Government particularly in regard to the position of the Hindu community, it would be pertinent to refer to some of the outstanding 'grievances' and see how far they can stand the light of scrutiny.

To begin with, the agitating parties and organisations, which professed to have the welfare of the masses at heart, had no programme calculated to benefit them. Nay, if the conditions obtaining in Hyderabad were to be compared with those of the neighbouring British Indian provinces, it will be further discovered that there is less cause for trouble in the State than outside. The Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam is far more prompt and generous in revenue remissions and taqavi loans to cause any needless misery to the poor. In the villages, the Hindu peasants are far more contented than the Muslims.

CENSUS REPORT REVELATIONS

According to the Census of 1931, the numerical strength of the major communities was as follows:

Hindus	..	9,699,615
Adi-Hindus	..	2,473,230
Muslims	..	1,534,666
Others	..	726,537

In the city of Hyderabad, the Hindu population rose from 153,497 in 1921 to 172,738 in 1931 with an increase of 12½ per cent. The Muslim population in the same period rose from 174,526 to 192,343 or an increase of a little over 10 per cent. The Adi-Hindus rose from 58,092 to 79,839 or by over 20 per cent. If the Hindus were repressed or oppressed as is commonly publicised, could they have thriven so well?

The distribution of Hindus and Muslims, according to occupations, will again reveal a tale which needs no spicing.

Description	No. of Hindus	No. of Muslims	Percentage	
			Hindus	Muslims
Production of raw material ..	6,081,713	581,748	87	7
Industry ..	1,578,299	89,973	92	5
Transport ..	153,159	24,119	79	12
Trade ..	1,030,307	152,578	85	13
Public Force ..	166,286	49,565	74	22
Public Administration ..	218,679	105,949	65	32
Professions and Liberal Arts ..	143,063	46,589	71	23
Domestic services ..	234,568	87,758	68	25
Insufficiently described occupations ..	795,109	92,105	84	10

It will be seen at a glance from these figures that while the Hindus almost exclusively dominate every sphere of economic and public life, the Muslims reach the highest percentage attained by the community, namely, 32 per cent., in the public administration with the second and third highest of 23 and 22 per cent. in professions and Public force respectively.

For centuries, very much to the detriment of the community, Muslims have been content with Govern-

ment service, be it of the lowest kind, leaving the various other fields of economic enterprise to the exclusive exploitation of the Hindus. Those, therefore, who complain of Muslims having monopolised the public administration are either deliberately blind to the facts of the situation or have never been genuinely anxious to know them.

As can be seen from the census figures, a preponderating majority of the Hindus is spread over 21,708 villages of the Dominions and prefers agricultural and other rural pursuits to the economically less tempting service in the towns and cities. Those Hindus who live in urban areas are more attached to trade, banking and other paying professions such as law and medicine than to Government service where the prospects though secure are extremely limited in scope. The Muslims, on the other hand, may be classified under a landed aristocracy, singularly devoid of business enterprise, poor villagers who live as land serfs and Government servants from the lowest rank of Chaprasi upwards.

FACTUAL TESTIMONY

The general mentality and outlook of the two communities and the comparative value they attach to higher administrative posts can be realised from the fact that in 1926, among the applicants for the Hyderabad Civil Service, there were 162 Muslims, and only 20 Hindus and in the year 1937, when the Hindu communalists were loudest in their demands for more posts for the Hindus, there were 54 Muslim applicants and only 15 Hindus. The same tendency is revealed with regard to applications for Asiatic and European scholarships, at the time of the periodical selection of probationary Tahsildars and in the departmental examinations for non-gazetted service. The following tables will reveal the truth of this in figures.

Year	SCHOLARSHIPS (European)			
	Muslims	Hindus	Christians	Parsis
1932	39	17	..	1
1933	38	8	3	1
1934	24	1	..	..
1935	14	3	2	1
1936	6	2	1	1
Total	121	31	6	4
				57
				50
				25
				20
				10
				162

DEPARTMENTAL EXAMINATION (Revenue)

Year	Total number of applicants		Total number passed	
	Hindus	Muslims	Hindus	Muslims
1927	14	104	2	16
1928	13	62	..	2
1929	7	55	2	11
1930	8	24	..	1
1931	6	31	1	2
1932	13	47 (Parsi 2)	2	5
1933	17	53 (Parsi 2)	1	16 (Parsi 1)
1934	12	62	2	9
1935	9	54 (Parsi 1 Christian 1)	4	20 (Christian 1)
1936	10	49 (Parsi 1)	5	9 (Parsi 1)

DEPARTMENTAL EXAMINATION (Customs)

Year	Total number of applicants		Total number passed	
	Hindus	Muslims	Hindus	Muslims
1927	15	59	1	3
1928	3	25	1	1
1929	4	42	..	2
1930	4	43	..	4
1931	5	79	..	5
1932	151	237 (others 3)	27	27
1933	155	246 (others 3)	38	71 (others 2)
1934	107	180 (others 2)	29	36
1935	74	159 (others 2)	8	27
1936	58	138 (others 3)	15	26

HYDERABAD CIVIL SERVICE

Year	Total number of applicants		Total number of nominations for competitive exams.	
	Hindus	Muslims	Hindus	Muslims
1928	4	55	4	31
1929	22	49	16	37
1930	17	42	8	20
1931	12	41	5	20
1932	9	39	6	23
1933	25	54	7	30
1934	12	23	6	14
1935	12	27	6	19
1936	19	37 (Parsi 1)	9	20 (Parsi 1)
1937	15	54	7	23

These figures speak for themselves. They show the relative keenness of the two communities for State service. If the Hindus are loud in their clamour for jobs now, it is not because they have been denied any opportunities or facilities for State employment but owing to the steady growth of population, economic depression and other factors common to the whole world, they are feeling the pinch of unemployment as they never did before. It is not fair on their part, therefore, to blame either the Government or the Muslim community for the neglect or indifference of the Hindus in the urban areas of the State.

As for the alleged grievance that the Muslims are shown greater leniency and consideration at the time of selection, one instance out of many will be sufficient answer to the extravagant charge. In 1936, there were fifty Hindu and 77 Muslim applicants for Tahsildarship. But out of these, 8 Hindus and 4 Muslims were selected. Critics of the Government might well take comfort from this that it is intrinsic merit and not communal merit that decides the choice.

CONDITIONS IN VILLAGES

In the villages of the State, the conditions are quite the reverse of those obtaining in the towns and cities. There, out of 99,184 village officers, 2,514 are Muslims and 95,259 are Hindus. The relative proportion of the holders of Pattas, Inams, Rusums, religious Jagirs and cash grants in both the communities is entirely in favour of the Hindus as can be seen from the following figures.

Community	Pattadars	Inamdars	Rasamdars	Religious	Cash
				Jagirs	Grant
Hindus .	1,006,275	70,382	3,351	46	1,156
Muslims .	67,217	11,354	197	47	886

Primary education is free in the State and is imparted in the mother-tongue of the pupils which may be Hindusthani, Marathi or Telugu. There is adequate

provision for the teaching of the vernaculars in the Secondary schools also. Primary education is being made compulsory in certain selected areas, and secondary education has been revised so as to meet the practical requirements of those who can proceed to higher studies. This gives the lie to the propaganda persistently indulged in by interested parties that Hindusthani is favoured to the exclusion of the vernaculars. The following figures will show how the Government and aided schools are popular among the different communities:

Muslims	..	1,20,555
Brahmins (Hindus)	..	28,921
Non-Brahmins (Hindus)	..	84,982
Other Hindus	..	1,07,910
Sikhs	..	212
Jains	..	1,272
Indigenous tribes	..	371
Depressed classes	..	10,432

There are two sets of schools in the State, one affiliated to the Osmania university where the medium of instruction is Hindusthani with English as a compulsory subject and the high schools preparing students for the British Indian universities with English as the medium of instruction.

While the colleges affiliated to the Osmania University impart education in Hindusthani, there is ample provision made for the teaching of Telugu, Marathi and Kanarese, the chief languages of the State, as well as Sanskrit, the scriptural language of the Hindus.

Some people are labouring under an erroneous impression that a Muslim bureaucracy is trying to force upon the Hindus the Hindusthani, a language spoken by the Muslims. Hindusthani however is not the exclusive language of the Muslims and is the mother-tongue of many thousands of Hindus in C.P., U.P., the Punjab and some other provinces in British

India. It is also well-known how the Congress, a purely Hindu body, has been striving year after year, even through forced legislation to impose Hindusthani upon British Indian provinces. In the Hyderabad State, the choice whether to receive instruction in Hindusthani or English or any other vernacular is left entirely to the discretion of the student himself, and adequate facilities are provided for different requirements. Critics of the Osmania University, however, will be surprised to learn that in the past many years, Hindu students have shown a preference to its teaching and courses of study than to those of the Nizamia college which is affiliated to the Madras University.

In the Dominions of His Exalted Highness as in British India, there are common institutions for all classes and communities. Muslims, caste Hindus. and Depressed classes receive instruction in the same schools and colleges though in the boarding houses, out of regard for the religious prejudices of certain sections, separate food arrangements are made for Hindus and Muslims.

Though the Depressed classes are not segregated for purposes of education, a few separate schools have been opened for their special requirements, and to teach them manual arts and crafts in order to enable them to earn their living.

EVIDENCE OF CATHOLIC OUTLOOK

Not only in the sphere of education but even of religion, His Exalted Highness' Government appears from indisputable facts to have done much for the advancement of the non-Muslim population. For instance, Government is spending large sums of money not only to preserve Hindu culture and civilisation but to propagate it. An annual grant of Rs. 6,000 is paid to persons reputed to be well-versed in Hindu religion, both inside and outside the State, for the dissemination of the teachings of the Puranas and the

Shastras and for holding Kathas, etc. There is also provision in the State budget for an annual recurring grant of Rs. 76,216 for periodic religious ceremonies and festivities held in temples situated in the Dominions.

Vast jagirs have been given to Hindus to meet the expenses of worship and other rituals in the temples. Two hundred and thirty-four villages, with an annual income of over three lakhs of rupees, have been given to the Hindus for this specific purpose. There are, besides, perpetual grants amounting to nearly Rs. 3.11,000 in the form of stipends and income from land which have been made in favour of 11,355 temples. The number of the temples which are beneficiaries of this system exceeds that of mosques receiving similar stipends. Other temples also get nearly Rs. 60,000 more than the mosques.

A further example of the catholic outlook of the Hyderabad Government and its freedom from religious prejudice is furnished by the fact that 106 religious endowments for Muslims have been placed, in perpetuity, under the control of Hindus who administer them through Muslim deputies appointed by themselves.

In H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, the religious institutions of the Muslims number 12,774 as against 26, 358 of the Hindus. They are all under the direct supervision of village officials of whom 27,310 are Hindus and only 2,276 Muslims.

There are also special grants to non-Muslims for religious purposes given by some of the State Departments. The Ecclesiastical Department, for instance, gives fixed monthly or yearly grants, totalling Rs. 1,16,309 annually to non-Muslim institutions or individuals within the State. Fixed grants of the value of Rs. 37,492 are given to non-Muslim institutions outside the State. Then fixed grants amounting to Rs. 1,79,810 are given by the education, agriculture

and medical departments to non-Muslim institutions or individuals within the State. A large number of non-Muslims also get what are known as Yumiahs or daily allowances, the annual expenditure on this score alone amounting to Rs. 19,403.

There are 1315 villages, with an annual income of Rs. 20,96,936, given as hereditary jagirs to Hindus without any condition being attached to them. Similarly, there are 416 hereditary mansabdars receiving Rs. 16,791 as Mansab. In the Sarfe-Khas territory alone, there are 51 non-Muslim mansabdars.

There are four big Hindu nobles in the State who have in their possession 584 villages with an area of 4452 sq. miles and an income of Rs. 26,75,453.

In the year 1921, there were 6,89,047 pattadars and Ijardars in the Diwani Ilaqua, 90,410 in the Sarfe-Khas Ilaqa, and 2,43,756 in the Jagirs whose number practically remains unchanged.

It is interesting to note that out of 15 lakhs of Muslims inhabiting the State, 60,660 are educated whereas out of 1,21,00,000 Hindus only 38,223 are literate. Yet in the State departments, (Diwani), there are 473 Hindu gazetted officers and in all 47,976 Hindu employees as against 45,054 Muslims, 399 Christians and 35 Parsis.

The Muslims because of a higher percentage of literacy among them would have been expected to obtain a numerical strength in the State Services. But the number of Hindus exceeds that of Muslims by over 10,000 which in itself is a refutation of the complaint of the Hindu-sabhaites that Hindu interests are neglected in the State.

TRADITIONAL RELIGIOUS POLICY

In fact, even the Ecclesiastical Department which, it is alleged, is over-weighted with Muslims, has a surprisingly large Hindu element in it. There are 29,586 village patels in the ecclesiastical service of whom

27,310 are Hindus and 2,272 are Muslims. Tahsildars, Taluqdars and Subhedars, whatever their religion, are vested with powers to deal in matters ecclesiastical. Above the rank of the Subhedar, there are two sections of the department, administrative matters being referred to the Director while quasi-judicial cases go to the Nazim Atiyat which is composed of Senior Revenue officers irrespective of caste, creed or religion. In the past decade, a Kayasth, a Brahmin and a Muslim have sat separately on the bench of the Atiyat court where a Hindu Nazim decides the cases of Muslim Mutawallis and a Muslim Nazim hears the cases of Hindu Pujaris. Appeals from the Nazim's decision are filed before the Atiyat Committee which consists of two members of the Executive Council, the Chief Justice of the High Court taking his seat with them as an ex-officio member. The decisions of these tribunals which are essentially non-communal in character are forced by the Ecclesiastical Department through its officials, a majority of whom are, again, Hindus.

It is the settled policy of the Department not to interfere with the religious beliefs of the people. It takes no part in proselytisation of any kind. As to matters affecting the liberty of performance of religious rites by the members of a community, an old Firman will be found both instructive and interesting. It reads:

"In a country inhabited by different races professing different religions, no Government would like to stop any religious act unless its public performance inflames the feelings of the followers of other religions to such an extent as to cause danger to public peace and safety. It was to remove all apprehension of disturbance to public peace and order that my Government has made a rule that when a person wants to construct a new religious building or enclosure such as mosque, church or any other place of worship,

school or graves, etc., previous sanction of the Government should be obtained."

A good deal has been said about music and the Daserah celebrations which is not at all fair to the Asafjahi dynasty and hardly reflects any credit for honesty upon its purblind critics. The question of regulating the Mohurram and Daserah first arose nearly ninety years ago when the two occasions coincided. As Mohurram was a period of mourning for Muslims, and Daserah a period of rejoicing for the Hindus, it was decided that in the interests of public peace, there should be no music at certain places under certain conditions. About fifty-seven years ago, the question was again decided by a Committee of four, three of whom were Hindus and one Muslim, and the previous practice was upheld.

IMPARTIAL LEGISLATION

The orders for stopping music before mosques were issued over four decades ago and were modified in recent years by a Committee consisting of Mr. Armstrong who was then Director-General of Police, Justice Giri Rao, Raja Bahadur Venkat Ram Reddy, the then Commissioner of Police, Raza Nawaz Jung, Subedar, and Zulcadar Jung, Home Secretary. This Committee laid down that within a distance of forty paces from the mosque, the playing of music in houses and other places of worship should be stopped at stipulated periods, the rule applying to all religions.

As regards previous sanction for the construction of a place of worship, it is only intended to eliminate communal conflicts. In the interest of public peace, permission has often been refused for mosques as well as temples. The mosque near Amera motor garage was converted into a school and library as it was too close to a temple. Similarly, a Muslim Idgah which was too close to a Sikh Gurudwara was shifted to another place in Nanded. To show how impartial the Government of His Exalted Highness is in matters relating to the religions of the people, one instance

would suffice. A few years ago, there was a dispute between the Sikhs and the Muslims regarding the boundary of the Maltekri Nanded Gurudwara. Justice Cumming from Bengal was invited by the State to decide the issue. The decision went against the Muslims and was promptly enforced resulting in the exhumation of the corpse of a Muslim saint which had to be buried elsewhere.

Government's concern in the welfare of all communities alike has found expression in a number of measures of public utility. Tuljapur, the seat of a well-known Mahratta shrine of Tuljadevi, the goddess of Shivaji, has been provided with filtered water supply for the benefit of the numerous Hindu pilgrims visiting it. At Kuntalgiri, a small village in Osmanabad district, which is well-known as a place of pilgrimage for the Jains, Government, out of regard for the feelings of the Jain community, has established a sanctuary for the preservation of bird and animal life. As the place is suffering from a shortage of water, steps are being taken to sink a cement concrete well to yield a sufficient water supply to Kuntalgiri and Ramkund, another centre of pilgrimage in the vicinity.

After all this evidence which can be collected thousand-fold, if necessary, can any one honestly say that there is any justification in the Arya Samaj or Hindu Sabha allegation that 'Mussalmans have full control over other religions which are at mercy of the Muslim zealots?' Facts cannot lie, and even if they do not bring conviction to the deeply prejudiced Hindu mind, the words of His Holiness Jagatguru Shankaracharya of Jagannathpuri, uttered at the Sanatan Dharma Sabha last April, ought to dissipate doubts. His Holiness, on that occasion, not only complimented H. E. H. the Nizam's Government on the tolerance they had shown in religious matters but exhorted the Hindus to treat members of other religions with respect as enjoined by the Shastras and to work unitedly with Muslims and others in public matters.

CHAPTER VII.

WHOSE VICTORY?

IT has been made abundantly clear that the agitation in the Hyderabad State was conducted principally by the Congress, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Arya Samaj with the help of misguided Hindus of British India and misleading propaganda in the press.

Even the remotest suggestion of a liason between the Congress and the other two parties would hardly have been relished by the State Congress or Mahatma Gandhi who were in the habit of raising loud protestations that being cent per cent. 'national', they had nothing to do with communal organisations like the Hindu Sabha or the Arya Samaj. In fact, from S. R. Date's publication, the "Bhaganagar Struggle," they appear to have been hand in glove with one another, and had even gone to the extent of dividing the available number of volunteers amongst themselves as the situation demanded.

The constant visits to Wardha and the secret consultations of the two Guptas, Ghanashyamsingh and Deshbandhu, were so well known to everyone that they do not need any evidence. Gandhiji himself confessed after the movement was over that though he did not openly declare his opinion about the Arya Satyagraha, it did not mean that he was not taking a deep interest in it.

When the combined movement had spent up its force and was on the verge of collapse, Gandhiji, magnanimously advised the State Congress to withdraw from the agitation sufficiently in advance of a complete break-down thus saving its face and avoiding the stigma of defeat.

The Hindu Sabha and the Arya Samaj had gone so far that they could not retrace their steps easily without an excuse, and this fortunately for them

offered itself in the announcement of the constitutional reforms which in fact had been decided upon by the Government long before even the folly of the agitation had been conceived.

It was thus that the Hindu Sabha and the Arya Samaj saved their faces and indulged in self-congratulations for having brought the struggle to a "successful end" and won a signal "victory". But let the facts as exposed by the Arya Samajists themselves testify to the nature of this victory. Pandit Ramchandra Dehlvi, a prominent Arya preacher, says in this connection:

"There is no doubt that all the rules and regulations about religious and political meetings and processions remain as they were, before the launching of the satyagraha movement. In the communique dated the 8th August, some matters have been explained and verified to some extent. But, fundamentally, nothing has been conceded. In these circumstances, to claim the victory of the Arya Samaj betrays a lack of knowledge on the part of the Arya leaders about State laws, and it also amounts to lower them in the estimation of the administrators and statesmen of the Hyderabad State."

"A JOKE WITH ARAYA SAMAJ"

Mr. Vyas Deo Sastri, M.A., LL.B., President of the Arya Youth Sangh, caustically characterises the part played by the International Aryan League as "a joke with the Arya Samaj."

"After the declaration of 18th July", he says, "a meeting of the Working Committee of the International Aryan League, was called on the 25th July which sought the clarification of the reforms. In reply, the State repeated all that it has said in the White Paper of December 1938. This repetition satisfies the International Aryan League. It was a big joke. If there was any reason for satisfaction,

they should long have been satisfied after the publication of the White Paper in December 1938. Where was the need of launching a satyagraha?"

Another revealing aspect of this "successful" campaign came out when two Arya "dictators", Mahashaya Krishna and Lala Khushalchand, fell out. Mahashaya Krishna writing in the "Prakash" of Lahore, dated 4th August 1940 says:

"I am sorry that Lala Khushalchand has tried to neutralise the effect of the success of the satyagraha in Hyderabad. We could have ignored this had anyone else been responsible for this despicable deed, but Lala Khushalchand has remained in Gulbarga jail as a 'Dictator' and, therefore, what he says would necessarily create misunderstandings.

"Lala Khushalchand has proved a foolish friend of the Arya Samaj.

"Look at the misfortune of the Arya Samaj. Whatever its Muslim adversaries used to say against it is now being supported by Lala Khushalchand. And the reason for this is that the International Aryan League has demanded Rs. 20,000 out of the satyagraha fund from the Provincial Aryan League of which he (Lala Khushalchand) is the president."

That shows the spirit of the heroes who are supposed to have fought and won a unique epic battle. The author of the "Bhaganagar Struggle" considers that in a struggle such as the Aryas and the Hindu Sabhaites had launched, "many an act of heroism is brought to light and human beings are shown in their true colours."

Some of the 'acts of heroism' would put to shame those who regard religion as something above sordid motives and acts. What would the public think, for instance, of the satyagrahi heroes who were caught in the act of committing unnatural offences in jails and had to be suitably dealt with by the authorities, of those satyagrahis who were found in a state of drunk-

eness at the time of arrest, and who indulged in quarrels and noisy brawls in the jails. If these are examples of 'heroism,' they are in conformity with the nature of the victory claimed by the agitators.

How the agitation came to an ignoble end is now common knowledge. The money collected from poor Hindus under various pretences was wasted in a few months' time. The propaganda of lies and half truths though well organised and sympathetically received in some quarters could not be sustained long in the face of clear staring facts. The satyagrahis, many of whom were victims of delusion or the artful propagandist's wiles, renounced the struggle right in the beginning on getting disillusioned, and the rabble collected anywhere any how failed to serve the purpose for which the agitators had recruited them.

Thus, far from being successful in the end, the organisers of the agitation were not successful even in securing the co-operation of representative Hindus. The author of "Bhaganagar Struggle" claims that

"Hindus of all castes and creeds, the Sanatanists, the Arya Samajists, the Sikhs, the Jains, the Lingayats, in fact, all Hindu Sangathanists had joined together and actively participated in this gigantic struggle."

Facts, however, prove otherwise. Excepting for the few Arya Samajists and the Hindu Sabhaites who came from British India, nobody from among the Mulki Hindus of the State cared to support the agitation. In fact, the Sanatanists, the Sikhs, the Jains, and the Lingayats had all expressed themselves openly against such rowdyism, and more than once conveyed their loyalty to the ruling dynasty and their appreciation of the impartial religious policy of the administration.

EVIDENCE OF PROMINENT HINDUS

His Holiness Shankaracharya of Jagannathpuri "emphatically refused to attribute to Nizam's Govern-

ment, as the reports would have it, any overt acts of conversion or Tabligh" and admitted that

"even though we had occasion to visit wayside villages, there has never been any allegation of intolerance or ill-treatment against Hindu population."

A leading organ of the Sikhs, after gratefully recording all that the Nizam's Government had done for the Gurudwara in Nanded and the princely grant made in the shape of a jagir said that the "Sikhs never had grounds for any grievance against H. E. H. the Nizam's Government."

Dr. Jaimal Singh Randhawa, writing about the history of the Nanded shrine in the "New Era" of 23rd January 1941 says: "The Sikhs have been greatly benefited under the benign rule of His Exalted Highness."

The Secretary of the holy place of Kuntalgiri, a leading Jain shrine in the State, has paid a rich tribute to the religious freedom enjoyed by everybody under the Nizam's rule.

At a meeting held on October 30, 1940, the Benares Sanatan Dharma Hindu Sabha passed, among others, the following resolution:

"Resolved that this Sabha, along with the affiliated Sanatan Mandal at Hyderabad, appreciate the recent financial aid given by the State to the Sankat Mochan temple, Benares."

If further evidence were required, it is furnished by an article in "Dharmarajya", a Hindu paper of Delhi of 9th January 1941 which reads:

"...Differences in religion and culture have not operated as a bar for friendly intercourse in the Dominions of H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad. It is perhaps known to our readers that there is an Ecclesiastical department which is a part of the State administrative machinery. This department is in

charge of both Muslim and Hindu religious institutions, of both mosques and temples; a Muslim or a Hindu officer often happens to be in charge of both mosques and temples.....A Hindu officer is, at the moment, in charge of the Ecclesiastical Department in the district (Warangal)....the unseemly quarrels and communal clashes which marred the happy relations between Hindus and Muslims are due to the misguided activities of mischief-mongers engineered by outside agencies for their own selfish ends....The Hindu shrine of Lakhshmi Narasimhaswami at Koh Yadgeer stood on land belonging to the Muslim noble man, Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur....The virtues of tolerance and brotherliness in life have to be acquired by discipline and sedulously cultivated by an abundant measure of compromise and give and takeMay the example of Hyderabad spur us on to achieve the goal of communal unity and internal peace which India is so much in need of."

AN INTERESTING CONFESSION

The interesting confession of "Bhaganagar Struggle" that the Arya Samaj recruited volunteers from all sections of the Hindu community in Kashmir, Punjab, etc., to offer civil resistance in Hyderabad State, and that it had its "stronghold in the Nizam's Dominions as well," read in conjunction with the above editorial comment of "Dharmarajya" brings out two important conclusions: one, that the agitation was principally an engineered affair of outside propagandists, and second, that looking to the fact that the Arya Samaj had already a stronghold in the Dominions, its one main excuse for agitation that the Hyderabad administration did not allow it to carry on propaganda in the State, does not hold water. The attempts of the Mahasabhaistes to veil one lie with scores of other invented ones recalls to one's mind the famous Persian proverb that liars do not possess strong memories.

In the face of these revealing facts, can one say, who won the victory in the agitation—the Arya Samaj, the Hindu Sabha, the modest State Congress or the State Government?

It is hardly conceivable that the State Government could think of a victory when the relations of the ruler and the ruled were at stake. The agitators could succeed in prejudicing the minds of innocent people because the Government of the Nizam evidently did not stoop to the cheap methods of Nazi propagandists which the Hindu Sabhaites appear to have adopted.

The agitation with its abortive attempt to vilify the Nizam and the Muslims not only failed to achieve the object of its shrewd organisers but, on the contrary, strengthened the growing distrust of Hindu intentions in the mind of the British Indian Muslims and lent indirect support to the Pakistan movement.

While it is an acknowledged fact that the majority of Hindus and Muslims in this country have no desire to have a communal domination of either the 'Swastika' or the 'star and crescent' brand, a handful of so-called leaders whose brains cannot credit their fellow brethren of good and honest intentions are endeavouring to stir up trouble and glorify themselves in the attempt.

Fortunately for the Hindus and Muslims of Hyderabad State, the agitation blew itself off like a spell of bad weather leaving behind a slight feeling of desolation. The mischief that it has created is not irreparable. With a growing realisation of facts and their own good, the Hindus and Muslims can settle down to joint efforts at communal welfare and help each other to forget the unpleasant memories of the past, the nursing of which will not benefit either.

Let the Arya Samaj, the Hindu Sabha and the State Congress claim victory, individually or jointly,

if they chose, but it is a poor victory that seeks in the desolation of hearts, the tearing asunder of age-old ties of brotherly feelings, in evil passions and inhuman murders the achievement of glory in newspaper articles.

If indeed the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Sabha had sought the unity of Hindus and Muslims, had taught the Hindus and Muslims to realise the spiritual significance of religion instead of harping on its superficial and immaterial differences, they would have won a victory truly deserving of being handed down to generations of Indians to come in letters inscribed not in gold and diamonds but in the life-blood of a grateful mother-land.

